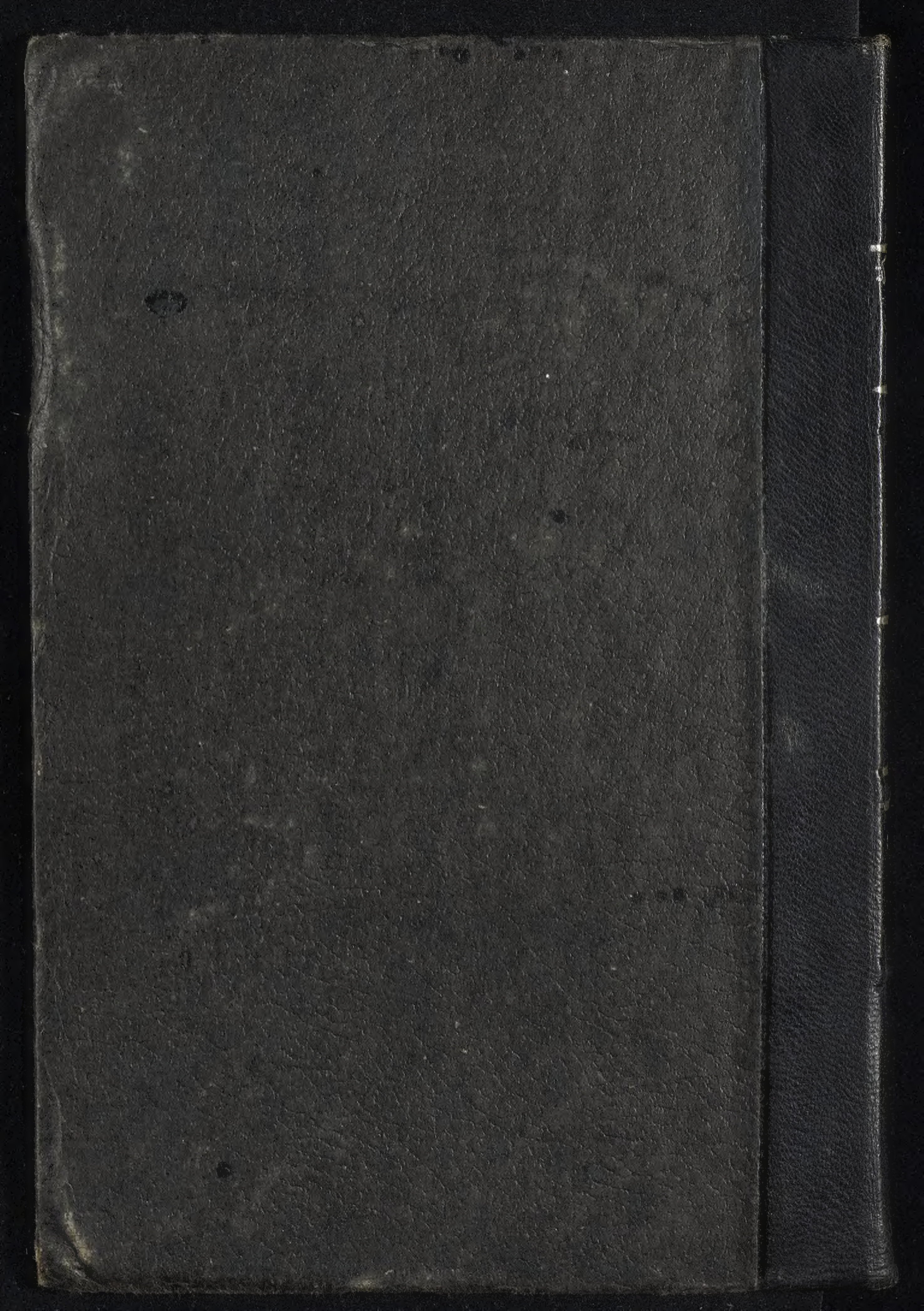


مطبوعات جمعية الآثار القبطية

قسم النصوص والوثائق

١٤

تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

طبقاً للمخطوط العربي رقم ٣٠٢ المحفوظ بالمكتبة الوطنية بباريس

من ورقة رقم ٢٨٧ ظ إلى ٣٥٥ ج

المجلد الرابع

الجزء الأول

كيرلس الثالث : ابن لقلق

١٢١٦ - ١٢٤٣ ميلادية

قام على نشره

دكتور أنطون خاطر و دكتور أزولد بورمستر



القاهرة

١٩٧٤

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Tome IX. — H.J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte.* — Le Caire 1944. (Epuisé)

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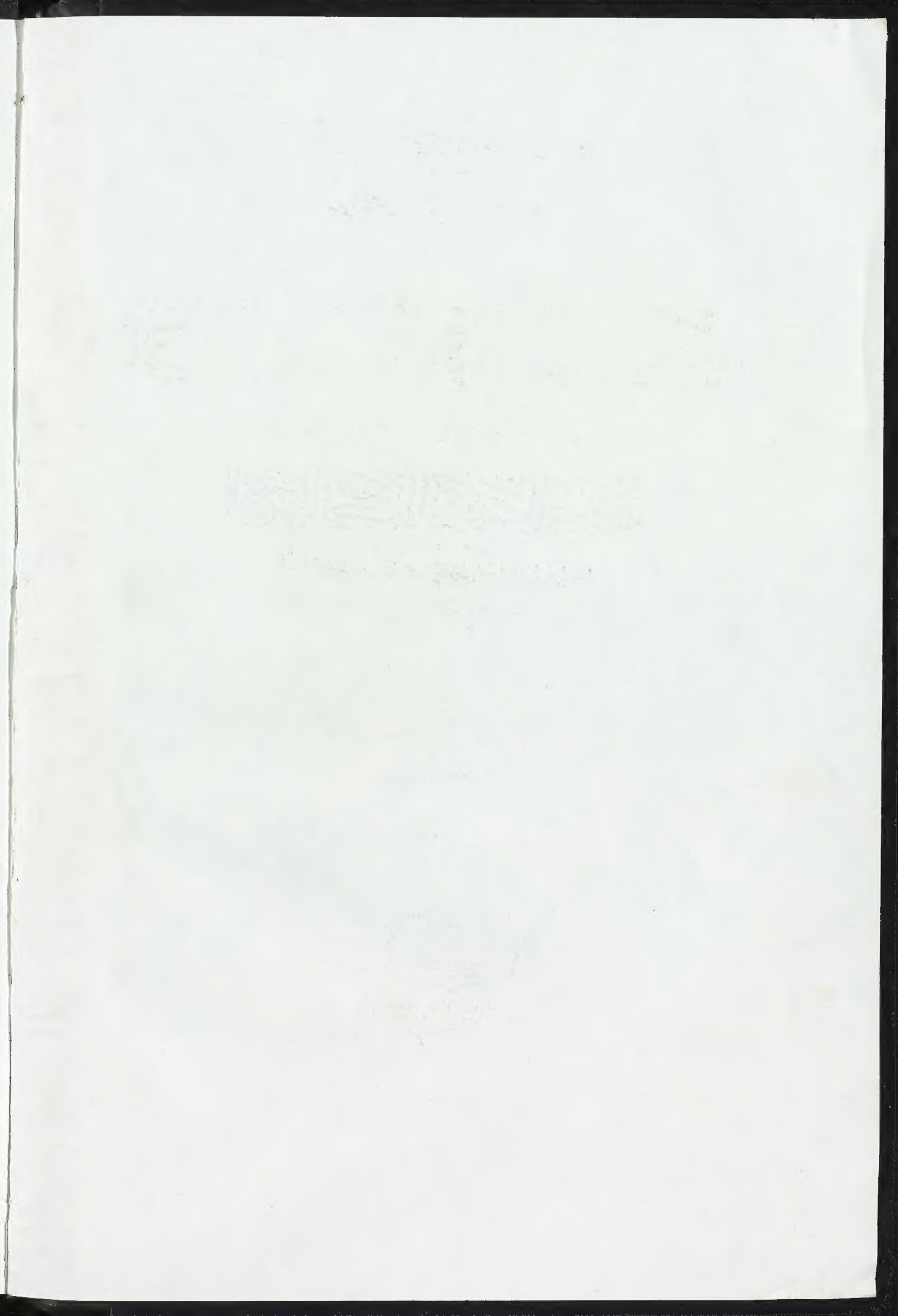
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تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

طبقاً للمخطوط العربي رقم ٣٠٢ المحفوظ بالمكتبة الوطنية بباريس

من ورقة رقم ٢٨٧ ظ إلى ٣٥٥ جـ



مطبوعات جمعية الآثار القبطية

قسم النصوص والوثائق
١٤

تاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية

طبقاً للمخطوط العربي رقم ٣٠٢ المحفوظ بالمكتبة الوطنية بباريس

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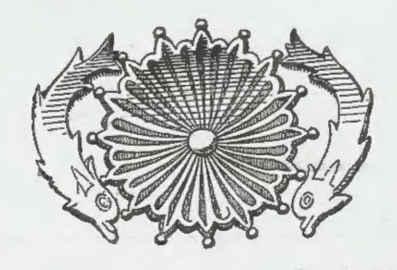
الجزء الأول

كيرلس الثالث : ابن لقلق

١٢١٦ - ١٢٤٣ ميلادية

قام على نشره

دكتور أنطون خاطر و دكتور ازولد بورمستر



القاهرة

١٩٧٤

مطبعة المعهــد العلمى الفرنسى للآثار الشرقية

تصـــدير

هذا النص المنشور فى هذا المجلد يتعلق بتاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية ، طبقا للمخطوط العربى رقم ٣٠٢ المحفوظ بالمكتبة الوطنية بباريس ، من ورقة رقم ٢٨٧ ظ إلى ورقة رقم ٣٥٥ جـ .

والفترة التى يتناولها هذا النص هى ست وعشرون سنة — أى من وقت نياحة البطريرك يوحنا السادس فى عام ١٢١٦ م إلى نياحة البطريرك كيرلس الثالث فى عام ١٢٤٣ م .

وهذا النص يقابل ما جاء فى المخطوط رقم ١ « تاريخ » المحفوظ بالمتحف القبطى بمصر القديمة (القاهرة) تحت عنوان « سيرة البطريرك كيرلس الثالث » المسمى — قبل رهبنته — بابن لقلق ، والذى لم يشغل أكثر من خمسة عشر سطراً باللغة العربية [1] ، لذلك فإن النص المنشور هنا يعتبر ملحقاً هاماً لتاريخ بطاركة الكنيسة المصرية فى الفترة المشار إليها .

ونظراً لورود تكرار فى ذكر بعض الأحداث والمشاهدات ، فإنه يبدو أنه لفّق من مصدرين متشابهين .

فبعد نياحة البطريرك يوحنا السادس فى عام ١٢١٦ م ، مضى تسعة عشر عاماً قبل أن ينجح « ابن لقلق » فى أن يعد العـدّة لاختياره بطريركاً للإسكندرية . وفى أثناء هذه الفترة وقعت أحداث هامة فى مصر وفلسطين — سياسية واجتماعية واقتصادية وكذلك كنسية — ورد وصفها بالتفصيل فى هذا النص المقدم هنا .

أما عن شخصية ابن لقلق فقد اختلفت الآراء فيها تمـاماً ، فبينما نظر خصومه أنه كانت تنقصه كل المقومات المطلوبة فيمن يجلس على كرسى القديس مرقس ، يرى أصدقاؤه أن الشرطونية (السيمونيـة) كانت ذلّـته الأساسية ،

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(١) انظر كتاب تاريخ البطاركة الجزء الثالث من المجلد الثالث صفحة ١٣٣ ، تحقيق ونشر دكتور أنطون خاطر ودكتور أوزولد بورمستر .

وكذلك مخــالفته بعض عادات الكنيسة القبطية ، فمثلا كان يبيح رسامة الكهنة من أبناء الزواج الثانى أو الثالث .

وكيفما كان الأمر ، فإن السيمونية كانت أحد الآثام الصارخة فى كل كنائس العصور الوسطى ، وأما بالنسبة لبطاركة الكنيسة القبطية فى هذه الفترة فقد كانت لهم بعض الظروف المخفّفة حينما لجأوا إلى مزاولة هذه المذمة ، وكان من الضرورى أن ترد المبالغ الطائلة التى كانت تدفع عادة للسلطان للحصول على موافقته لرسامة البطريرك ، كما أنه كان من الضرورى أن يوجد مبلغ كبير مخزون لسداد المبالغ الفادحة التى كثيراً ما كانت تطلب من البطريرك أو من المسيحيين ، لأن الفشل فى دفع هذه المبالغ كثيراً ما كان يستلزم الحبس للبطريرك ويجر الاضطهاد على الشعب .

ومحتويات هذا المجلد يمكن ترتيبها تحت العناوين الآتية :

أحداث كنســية :

فى وقت كتابة هذه السيرة كانت الكنائس الآتية موجودة :

(١) كنيسة المخلص الشهيرة ، بالإسكندرية ، وفيها قـدّم ابن لقلق بطريركاً .

(٢) كنيسة القديس شنودة ، خارج مدينة الإسكندرية ، وفيها كان ابن لقلق قد رسم قمصاً ، وكانت هذه الكنيسة مشهورة باسم كنيسة الأُسُود .

(٣) كنيسة القديس مرقس ، المعروفة باسم القمحا ، فى طرف مدينة الإسكندرية .

(٤) كنيسة مارى جرجس فى حارة الروم الحمرا بمصر .

(٥) كنيسة الفخارين بالقاهرة .

(٦) كنيسة الملاك ميخائيل فى رأس الخليج بمصر .

(٧) كنيسة القديس اسطفانوس بكنيسة المعلقة .

(٨) هيكل القديس بقطر ، وهيكل يوحنا المعمدان ، وهيكل القديس أنطونيوس ، وهيكل القديس ساويرس ، بكنيسة المعلقة .

(٩) الكنيسة بجزيرة الروضة .
(١٠) الكنيسة الملكية بحارة الروم الحمرا .

كما أن الأديرة الآتية كانت موجودة أيضاً :

(١) دير الخنـدق .
(٢) دير الشمع .
(٣) دير النيهـا .
(٤) دير طموح .
(٥) دير شهران .
(٦) دير البنات بكنيسة المعلقة .
(٧) دير الملكية للقديس أرسانيوس فى طره (القصير) .
(٨) دير القديس فيلوثاؤس المعروف بدير النسطوريين .

رأس مارى مرقس :

ذهب ابن لقلق فى اليوم التالى لتقديمه بالإسكندرية إلى بيت ابن السكّرى ، حيث كانت رأس مارى مرقس محفوظة ، وذلك ليضعها كالعادة فى كفن جديد ، وطبقاً لرواية كاتب هذه السيرة ، كانت الرأس للقديس بطرس خاتم الشهداء ، لأن رأس القديس مرقس كانت قد نقلت مع جسده إلى البندقية .

بعض الحوادث فى عهد بطريركية ابن لقلق :

عند عودته للقاهرة ، أقام ابن لقلق أياماً قليلة فى دير أبو مقار فى برية شيهات ، حيث أقام بعض الرسامات ، وحيث توّج كالمألوف ، وقد توّج للمرة الثالثة فى كنيسة المعلقة . وبعد قليل عاد إلى دير أبو مقار لتكريز الاغاليليون والميرون ، ونقل مقر البطريركية إلى الكنيسة التى بجزيرة الروضة ، ولكن الكنيسة قد هدمت بعد وقت ، لأن السلطان بنى له قلعة هناك .

وقد قدّم ابن لقلق مطراناً للقدس والساحل والشام ، مما سبب له متاعب كثيرة بينه وبين بطريرك أنطاكية .

وكان لابن لقلق أعداء أقوياء حاولوا حرمانه بشدة من الكنيسة ، حتى أنهم قدموا مبلغاً كبيراً من المال للسلطان ليصدر أمراً باختيار بطريركاً آخر ، ولكن السلطان أشار بحكمة إلى أن مثل هذا التصرف غير مطابق لقانون الكنيسة .

كما أن هناك إشارة إلى أن ابن لقلق قد صلى القداس الإلهى الكيرلسى فى الأحد الأول والثالث من الصوم الكبير .

وقد تنيح ابن لقلق عام ١٢٤٣ م بدير الشمع ، حيث دفن هناك .

وقد سجلت ثلاث من حالات الارتداد :

الأولى : خياط ، وقد ندم بعد ذلك ونال إكليل الشهادة .

والثانية : أحد رهبان دير أبو مقار فى شيهات الذى افترى على الرهبان بأن بينهم من لجأ إلى الرهبنة ليتهرب من دفع الضريبة .

والثالثة : أسقف صندفا الذى ارتكب خطيئة الزنى مع سيدة مسلمة .

وقدّم إدعاء — رغم أنه غير مدعم بشهود كثيرين من المسلمين — وكان الإدعاء ، أن بناء ملاصقاً لكنيسة المعلقة كان قبلا يستعمل مسجداً للصلاة ، قد أدى إلى مقاضاة طويلة وهامة ، حتى وصل الأمر إلى الهجوم على كنيسة المعلقة بواسطة بعض الرعاع .

وقد أجبر الأقباط على تنفيذ قانون خاص باللبس بعض الوقت ، ومن جهة أخرى صدر قانون عام ١٢٣٣ م سمح به السلطان بترميم الكنائس نهاراً :

كما أنه توجد رواية هامة عن حبيس فى أبيار ، كان يعيش فى مغارة ، ولم يكن من الممكن الوصول إليه إلا باستعمال حبل وسلة . وكان من القوانين المطلوبة — ليصير الحبيس معترفاً به — هى أن يعيش فى مغارة يمكن الوصول إليها فقط عن طريق الحبل والسلة اللذين كانا يستخدمان فى إيصال ما يحتاجه من طعام يمده به الجيران الأتقياء . وكان يصلى على الحبيس صلاة الموتى قبل أن يصعد إلى مغارته ، ولا يغادرها إلا باذن من الأسقف .

وتوجد أيضاً رواية أخرى عن رؤية معجزة للقديسين المحاربين راكبين جيادهم وقد ظهروا فى الجزء الشرقى من قبة المذبح فى إحدى كنائس الغربية أثناء صلاة القداس الإلهى ، كما ذكرت رؤية مشابهة ظهرت فى كنائس أخرى .

وفى عام ۱۲۳۹ م عقد اجتماع فى مجلس من الأساقفة ، وكتبوا باسم البطريرك ابن لقلق عدداً من القوانين الهـامة تنفذ من وقت نشرها بالكنيسة القبطية .

أما الأسرى من الفرنج الذين أسروا فى الحروب ، فكانوا يرسلون إلى مصر ليشتغلوا فى إقامة القلعة بجزيرة الروضة ، وكانوا يقيمون بعض الوقت بكنيسة القديس أبو سيفين بمصر .

وفى الحديث عن عام ۱۲٤۳ م الذى تنيح فيه ابن لقلق ، ذكر الكاتب أن الملكيين أيضاً كانوا بغير بطريرك ، إذ تنيح بطريركهم قبل ابن لقلق بقليل ، وهذه الرواية تثبت أن القديس نيقولا الأول بطريرك الروم الأرثوذكس بالإسكندرية قد تنيح عام ۱۲٤۳ م .

أحداث تاريخيـــة تضمنها النص :

(ا) ذكر الحرب فى الشام وفلسطين التى قام بها اندرياس ملك المجر وحلفاؤه .

(ب) وصف تفصيلى لحملة يوحنا دى برين ضد مصر ، حصار طويل لدمياط وتسليمها أخيراً ، ونتيجة لذلك أزال العرب أسوار أورشليم حتى لا يستولى الفرنج على مدينة محصنة ، كما أسرعوا فى بناء الحائط المقام حول مصر والقاهرة مستخدمين فى ذلك كل سكان المدينتين . وقد فرضت كذلك ضريبة حرب على الأقباط والملكيين بدلا من الخدمة العسكرية .

وقد تقدم يوحنا دى برين وجيشه نحو مصر ، وقد أخليت المدينتان مؤقتاً ، وقد وقع الصليبيون فى شرك من أرض الدلتا التى غمرتها مياه الفيضان مما اضطرهم للتسليم . وقد وقعت هدنة بين الطرفين تقضى بتوقف الحرب أثناء ثمانية أعوام ، وبإعادة دمياط لمصر .

(ج) حملة فردريك الثانى ، إمبراطور روما المقدس ، وحصوله على القدس والمدن الأخرى . كما ذكر أن رسول فردريك الثانى قد وصل مصر حيث استقبل استقبالا حسناً جداً ، وكانت المركب التى قدم عليها مزودة بمائة ملاح .

(د) ذكر الحرب مع كاى كوباد ، سلـطان الروم ، والحرب بين الملك الكامل وأخيه الصالح .

(هـ) موت الملك الكامل الذى أعقبه ابنه العادل الذى خلع بعد عامين وجاء بعده الصالح سلطاناً لمصر.

(و) الحرب فى الشام وفلسطين مع الخوارزم الذين أبعدوا غرباً بواسطة جنكيزخان وكان النصر الأخير للملك الصالح.

الأحداث الاجتماعيـة :

(ا) إنشاء قنطرة من المراكب بين القاهرة وجزيرة الروضة بسعة كافية تسمح بحملين محملين بالمرور فى نفس الوقت فى الاتجاهين. وبعد ذلك إنشاء قنطرة أخرى من المراكب تصل بين جزيرة الروضة والجيزة، ويمكن لهذه القنطرة أن تفتح لتسمح للمراكب بالمرور.

(ب) إقامة قلعة للسلطان فى جزيرة الروضة تسببت فى إزالة كثير من المبانى وفى نقل الشون والترسانات الى الجيزة.

(ج) التطهير الإجبارى للترع والممرات المائية ومسح المنازل والممتلكات والحدائق بغرض تحديد الضرائب.

(د) تغيير العملة تسبب فى بعض التزييف. وتأسيس دار سك النقود فى القلعة لضربها.

(هـ) ترميم المساجد والجوامع فى القاهرة ومصر وما بينهما.

(و) بناء مدرسة أمام الصاغة فى مكان ورش الحدادين التى نقلت حوانيتهم إلى منطقة باب البحر.

(ز) تقرير سنوى لقياس ارتفاع النيل وقت الفيضان وما ترتب على ذلك من تحديد أسعار الأغذية.

أحداث غير عادية :

فى السنوات المذكورة فيما بعد ورد ذكر بعض الأحداث التى تسترعى الانتباه :

(ا) فى عام ١٢٢٠ م، حدث فى منتصف مارس ما سمى بالعواصف الوحشيـة السوداء مصحوبة بالبروق. فاقتلعت أشجار النخيل وسقطت المنازل.

(ب) فى عام ١٢٣٢ م ، كان مستوى مياه النيـــل منخفضاً جداً حتى الأحجار التى فى قاع النيل قد ظهرت واحتكت بها القوارب النيلية الصغيرة التى مرت فوقها .

(ج) فى عام ١٢٣٦ م ، ظهر وباء الطاعون فى مصر ، وكان شديداً جداً فى القاهرة وفى مصر والضواحى . ومن النادر أن تجد منزلا قد خلا من شخص لم تلحقه المنيـّة .

(د) وفى عام ١٢٣٩ م ، حوالى نهاية شهر أغسطس ، أمطرت السماء ، وهو وقت غير عادى لحدوث المطر ، كما حدث أيضاً زلزال فى تلك السنة .

(ه) وفى عام ١٢٤٢ م ، حدث فى نهاية سبتمبر أن هبّت ريح عاصفة اقتلعت أشجار النخيل وهدمت عدة منازل . كما حدث كسوف للشمس فى السادس من أكتوبر من السنة نفسها .

كما قيل أن كميات هائلة من سمك البلطى قد اكتظت بها بركة الفيوم ، حتى سئمه الناس من كثرته ، وأقلعوا عن شرائه إذا وجدوا أى شيء آخر يحل محله كالدجاج مثلا .

وهناك حادثتان أثارتا دهشة القاهريين : الأولى ، وصول سيدة من الشرق متزوجة لها لحية دائرية وشارب ، وقد اعتاد زوجها أن يحصل نقوداً من كل من أراد أن يراها . والثانية ، وصول رجل من الهند جسمه مغطى بالفرو الشبيه بفرو الدب وأعلن أن كل أفراد أسرته يشبهونه .

أنطوان خاطر   أزولد بورمستر

أكتوبر سنة ١٩٧٣



* بسم الآب والابن والرّوح القدس الاله الواحد

نبتدى بمعونة الرب وحسن توفيقه بنقل تاريخ الكنيسة المقدسة وذلك لاستقبال سنة اثنين وثلثين وتسع ماية للشهدآء الابرار الموافق لسنة اثنى عشر وستماية للهجرة العربية .

لما تنيح الاب القديس الطاهر الكامل الروحانى الناسك الناطق بالخفايا المتنزه عن الدنايا أنبا يوحنا بطريرك المدينة العظمى الاسكندرية والقاهرة ومصر وأعمالها والحبشة والنوبة وخمس المدن وأفريقيه فى نهار الخميس الحادى عشر من طوبة سنة اثنين وثلثين وتسع ماية للشهداء الابرار الموافق للخامس عشر من شهر رمضان سنة اثنى عشر وستماية الهلالية وهو يوم الغطاس المقدس توجعت المسكونة لفقده وارتجت الامور من بعده وكان قبل موته قد أوصى ابنى اخته ابى سعيد وابى المكارم أن لا يتركاه فى الكنيسة ولا يدفناه بها حتى ينقل الى الديارات المقدسة على جارى عادة البطاركة بل يجنزاه ويحملاه الى الحبش ويدفناه فيه فى التربة التى لأهل بيته هناك ففعلا ذلك وبيتاه فى الكنيسة المعلقة تلك الليلة وجنزاه أحسن تجنيز وحضر اسقف الملكية ولم يكن احد من الاساقفة حاضراً وطلعوا به ثانى يوم وهو يوم الجمعة الى الحبش وحوله من الخلق امم لا تحصى وكان يوماً مشهودا وحفروا له وسط التربة المختصة بأهله وهى بقرب من قبر انبا زخاريس البطرك رزقنا الله صلاتهما ودفنوه هناك وعملوا قبره مصطبة وتحدث الناس يومهم ذاك فيمن يقيموه بطريركا فقوم وقع تخيرهم على القس بولس البوشى وقوم وقع تخيرهم على القس داود بن يوحنا الفيومى وقوم تخيروا الشيخ ابا الكرم ارشيدياقن المعلقة بمصر والصاحب الأعز الوزير تعصّبت لكاتبه سنى الدولة ابى الفضايل وتشعبت آراء الناس ولم يكن فيهم من هو ماسك غرضه إلا أصحاب القس داود بن يوحنا وكان للسلطان الملك الكامل اعز الله نصره طبيب خاص به يعرف بالحكيم ابى شاكر بن ابى سليمن وكان مع السلطان على فاقوس ومع السلطان الملك العادل خلد الله ملكه

كاتب له تعرف بنش الخلافة أبى الفتوح وكان الملك العادل يوميذ على بيت
المقدس واصلا من دمشق الى مصر وكان هذان فى زمانهما اقرب للنصارى
الى سلاطينهما فاجتمعت جمعيه الى القس داود بن يوحنا فى يوم دفن البطريرك
وهو يوم الجمعة وجاءوا اليه عشية واتفق رأيهم على ان يدوروا ليلتهم تلك
على الناس ويأخذوا خطوطهم باستصلاحه فمضوا الى دار واحد من الجماعة
٢٨٨ (ب) * يعرف بشمس الرياسة بن صفى الملك بن المرصفاوى وراموا منه ذلك فلم
يوافقهم عليه واعتذر بأن قال من هو أنا حتى اقم البطرك وفى الدنيا مثل الحكيم
ابى شاكر والشيخ ابى الفتوح وكان فى الجماعة من هو مستتير وخال من الهوى
وكفهم عن الرواح الى غيره وانصرفوا تلك الليلة بعد ان اتهموه بأنه فند اراهم
وذلك الذى كان نصر هذه الجماعة من اول امرهم الى اخره لانهم كانوا كلما
بصرهم الانسان مصلحة ونهاهم عن الافراط فى السعى والطلب وعدلهم نسبوه
الى الانقلاب عليهم واتخذوه عدواً وقصدوا اخذ الاشيا بالقوة فاتصل بجماعة
المصريين ما جرى من هذه الجماعة فاختبطوا وقاموا وقعدوا ونفذ القاضى
الاعز الوزير الى جماعة من كتابه وتحدث معهم فى حق السنى كاتبه المقدم
ذكره ولم يوافقهم احد عليه وكان ذلك فى ليلة الاحد رابع البطرك وفى صبيحة
الاحد المذكور اجتمعت جماعة القس داود اليه واخذوا كتابا من رجل شيخ
كاتب يعرف بالمعتمد بن حشيش الى الشيخ الوجيه بن الجندى كاتب السلطان
الملك الكامل نصره الله لانه كان معه على فاقوس مضمون الكتاب المذكور
ان الحضرة تعلم ما يلزم من حق الشيخ الاجل الرئيس المالك السيد نش الخلافة
وما يرومه الاب القس داود وقد امكنت الفرصة والحضرة تعلم مكانه الشيخ
المذكور من السلطان عز الله نصره والحضرة قريبة العهد به وما يومن ما يجرى
على من يتحدث لغيره وكتابا اخر من الفارس اخى الحكيم ابى شاكر اليه يقول
فيه ان القاضى الاعز قد تعصب لكاتبه السنى ابى الفضايل وربما تم له الامر
ليحمله بذلك وان ولدك ابا العلا مريض ليقلقه على المجىء وتتحدث معه
الجماعة فى معنى القس داود وبينوا حاله واجتمعوا تلك الليلة عنده اعنى
القس واكلوا وشربوا وسار بها الصايغ صاحب القس داود المذكور فى نهار
يوم الاثنين الكتب المذكورة طالباً للخيم المقصودة وسيروا المصريين جماعة

منهم يتحدثوا فى حق الشيخ ابى الكرم المعروف بابن زينور المقدم ذكره وكان الحكيم ابى شاكر عند السلطان عندما بلغه خبر وفاة البطرك فقال له يا حكيم كيف تعملون فى البطرك الذى تقيمونه قال يا مولانا نختار ثلثة رجال اخياراً اتقيا علماء يقع الاتفاق عليهم ويكتب اسماءهم فى ثلاث رقاع كل رقعة اسم واحد ونكتب فى رقعة اخرى اسم السيد المسيح ويترك الجميع على الهيكل ونصلى ثلثة ايام بطلبات كثيرة وابتهال متواتر وفى اخر الثلثة ايام نحضر طفلا دون البلوغ ونتركه يرفع واحدة من الرقاع بحضرة الشعب كله فيقراها فان وجدنا فيها اسما من الاسماء المختارة الثلثة قدمناه بطركاً علينا وان طلعت* الرقعة التى فيها اسم السيد المسيح علمنا انه لم يرض احداً من اوليك فنبطلهم ونرجع نختار ثلثة أخر ولا نزال كذلك حتى يطلع اسم من الاسماء فنقدمه فأعجب السلطان ذلك وقال افعلوا عادتكم فلما وصل بها المذكور بالكتب التى على يديه اوصل الكتاب المختص بالوجيه بن الجندى اليه فقراه واخذه معه ودخل على الحكيم ابى شاكر فى خيمته واوقفه على الكتاب المذكور فاغتاظ غاية الغيظ وقال كان البطاركه يقدمون بمثل هذا ويقال انت تعلم ما يلزم من حق فلان واما تريد نقدم فلان لاجله ما سمع قط بهذا ثم اخذ الكتاب المذكور وكان قد وافى اليه الجماعة المصريون فنقلوا الكتاب على نسخ عدة ثم وقف على كتاب اخيه المضمن مرض ابنه فقلق واخذ دستوراً من السلطان اعز الله نصره وحضر الى القاهرة وبلغ اشياء قبيحة عن القس داود وتحدث بها وبقى مصراً على امر الرقاع ووافقه عليها اكثر الناس فاما القس داود وجماعته فما كانوا يرون ذلك بل كانوا يريدون الاخذ بالقوة والسلطنة ولا يبالون بمن رضى أو غضب واجتمعت ابا يوحنا بن وهب بن يوحنا بن يحى ابن بولس بالحكيم فى دخلته هذه الى القاهرة وقررت معه ان يكون اسم القس المذكور من جملة الثلاثة اسماء لانه كان صديقى وكنت اعرف منه علماً بارعاً وكهنوتاً حسناً وترجمة الالسن وانما كنت اكره منه تهافته وتظاهره بالطلب وقلة تحاشيه من الحديث فى هذا الامر لنفسه وكنت انصحه فى ذلك فلا يقبل النصح واقول له ان هذا الامر يصلح ان يتظاهر العاقل بأنه لا يريده واذا تحدث بهذا قدامه كره الحديث وقام نزل من الموضع الذى يكون فيه هذا ان لم يكن بارا وان كان

٢٨٨ (ظ)

باراً فيكون هذا باطنه وظاهره لان هذا الامر فيه اقدام على عظايم وتقليد
لرعيه كثيرة يكون الانسان مداناً عنها فيحمل الامر متى على التقييد له ولا يرجع
عما هو عليه ولم يكن متوكلا على الله فى اعطا هذا الامر له بل على سعيه واجتهاده
ثم سألت الحكيم ان يقيم تلك الجمعه الى يوم الاحد ويجمع الاساقفة ويبث
الحال على ما قام فى نفسه من امر الرقاع فلم يفعل وكان بيّن الرأى بل انه
لما علم ان ولده معافى رجع على حاله الى الخيم المنصوبة وبعد ذلك عمل المصريون
محضراً بان القس داود المقدم ذكره ممنوع من انبا بطرس اسقف الفيوم الذى
كرزه قساً بسبب الاعتراف وفتن جرت بالفيوم وافتراق الشعب وانه ما خرج
من الفيوم الا مطروداً من قبل الاسقف وان الاب البطريرك منعه ايضا لما
اتضح له من فساد اعتقاده ودميم طرايقه وكتب فيه اثنان وعشرون * قساً ٢٨٩ (ب)
من قساً مصر والقاهرة وضواحيها وكان المحضر المذكور بخط مصطفى الملك
ابى يوسف بن الخطاب وكثر القال والقيل وعظمت المحنة والبلية وصاروا
الناس ياخذون على القس المذكور اشيآء فقوم يقولون هذا من الفيوم والفيوم
من حيز الصعيد ولا يجوز تقدمته وقوم يقولوا هذا كان طلب فى حياة البطريرك
مطرنه الحبشه ولم يجب اليها البطريرك بل امتنع من هذا غاية الامتناع وقوم
يقولون هذا ما استصلحه البطرك لان يقيم بدير العربه لانه كان طلع اليه ونزل
به منه واشد ما كان عليهم انه لم يسل عن البطرك فى مرضه ولا حضر جنازته
واشيآء اخر شنيعة لا يليق ذكرها بهذا المسطور ولما كان تمام الشهر اجتمع
خمسة من الاساقفة وهم ابنآ مهنا اسقف ابو صيربنا وكان كبير الاساقفة يوميذ
واخوه انبا مرقص اسقف لقانه وانبا ميخاييل اسقف طلخا المعروف بهديه
وانبا غبريال اسقف اطفيح وانبا مرقص مليج وصلوا على البطريرك انبا يوحنا
نيح الله نفسه فى تمام الشهر وتقربوا عليه فى يوم السبت الرابع من امشير من
السنة المقدم ذكرها وعادوا الى كنيسة القديسين سرجيوس وواخس لانهم
كانوا مقيمين بها فعند عودهم حضرت رسل الامير امين الدين والى مصر
باحضارهم فحضروا قدامه فقال لهم انتم قد صليتم على بطرككم يخرج كل واحد
منكم الى بلده ولا تقعدوا ساعة واحده فقالوا يا مولاى نحن نقيم غداً لا غير
حتى نصلى على قبره ونمضى وذكر ان الحامل للوالى على ذلك كاتبه تقرّباً

من قلب نش الخلافه لانه خشى ان يتفقوا على تقدمه غير القس داود فبادر
بذلك وعادوا الى موضعهم كئيبين فذكر لى القس بو منصور قس كنيسة بو سرجه
والشيخ السنى ابو المجد ابن القسيس بو الفرج انهم جميعاً اجتمعوا قدام الهيكل
غير اسقف مليج وحرموا القس داود ومنعوه ودعوا عليه وحلفوا انهم
لا يضعون عليه يداً ابداً بحكم ما جرى عليهم من وجع القلب بسببه ثم انهم
صلوا على قبر البطريرك وتوجهوا كل منهم الى كرسيه ووصل السلطان الملك
العادل خلد الله ملكه والشيخ نش الخلافة معه ودخل الجميع الى القاهرة فذكر لى
الشيخ الحكيم ابو شاكر رحمه الله انه اجتمع بالشيخ نش الخلافة وقت وصوله
وفاوضه فى امر القس داود فقال ما يصلح وانه مرتين اخرتين زاره فى داره
بالقاهرة وذكر له انه ما يصلح وبقيت المشاجرة على حالها والبغضا وحديث
الناس بعضهم فى بعض واخراج مثالبهم ومناقضهم * ودخل الصوم المبارك ٢٨٩ (ظ)
واجتمع الشيخ نش الخلافة بالشيخ نش الامام بن عز الكفاه بن ابى يوسف
ورام منه ان يكتب التزكية للقس داود فامتنع عليه وانفصل منه مغضباً وبعد
ذلك اجتمع بى القس داود وذكرنى ما بينى وبينه من المودة وسالنى فى كتب
التزكية فقلت فى نفسى هذه وراقة ما علىّ فيها من الله تبعه ان رضى الناس
واتفقوا رضيت وان لم يفعلوا يكتبون له كنت انا لم اعمل ذنباً إنما زكيت
شخصاً يتعين له على ذلك فكتبت له أربع نسخ واحدة للاساقفة وواحدة
للقسوس واخرى للاراخنة واخرى للرهبان وبعد ذلك كتبنا اخرى للاسكندرانيين
وسير الشيخ نش الخلافة القس مرقس بن رجال الى الوجه البحرى ومعه
تزكية للاساقفة والرهبان فحضر ومعه اثنا عشر اسقفاً من أساقفة الوجه البحرى
بعد ان كتبوا خطوطهم فى التزكية منهم ثلاثة ممن قدمنا ذكره منهم اسقف
لقانه واخوه الكبير واسقف طلخا وكان اسقف طمبدى انبا بطرس قد وصل
فصاروا ثلثة عشر اسقفاً وكتب الاخر خطه فى التزكية واحضرت تزكية الرهبان
وقد كتب فيها زها اربعين راهباً وكتب فى تزكية القسوس جماعة من قسا
القاهرة والوجه البحرى واما القسا الذين كتبوا فى محضر منعه فلم يكتب له
منهم احد اصلا وكتب فى محضر الاراخنة جماعة كبيرة وبقى جماعة ممتنعين
فلما رأى الحكيم وجماعة المصريين حضور الاساقفة وما جرى خافوا ان يتم

٢

الامر واغتاظ الحكيم غيظاً كثيراً فاجتمعت جماعة كبيرة من النصارى ووقفوا
للسلطان الملك الكامل وتضرروا من تقدمة هذا القس عليهم وذكروا انهم
لا يرضونه وانه مخالف لاعتقادهم ورأيهم فقال لهم طيبوا قلوبكم ما يقدم
عليكم الا من تريدون وبقى الشيخ نش الخلافة متردد الى الحكيم بوشاكر
ليلا يسأل عنه ولا يقول له شيئاً بل ان الرسايل كانت بينه وبينه وكان الحكيم
لا يرضى بهذا القس والشيخ نش الخلافة لا ينزل عن اختياره والشغب واقع
بين الشعب وبعد ذلك ندب السلطان اعز الله نصره القاضى الاعز الوزير الحضور
الى مصر وجمع النصارى وسماع حديثهم فحضر الى مصر وحضر معه الحكيم
بوشاكر وجلس بدار الوكالة العادلية واحضر جماعة من وجوه المصريين
واستخبرهم فقالوا هذا ما نريده اصلا وذكروا فيه اشياء قبيحة لا يليق ذكرها
فقال لهم فمن تريدون فقالوا عندنا رجل شيخ جيد يعنون الشيخ ابا الكرم
المقدم ذكره والشيخ الصنيعة بن السكرى وهذا كان كاتب الخزانة العادلية
وهو من اكابر اهل الاسكندرية والعضو الشريف عنده وذكروا جماعة من
الرهبان * منهم حبيش ابيار واتفق رايهم جميعاً على الرقاع وكتبوا محضر برضاهم ٢٩٠ (ج)
بذلك فكتب فيه اكثر الناس واخذه السلطان الملك الكامل عرضه على ابيه
وكان الشيخ نش الخلافة قد قال للملك العادل عندما جرى ذكر القرعة
يا مولانا هذه سنة الافرنج وليست سنتنا فلما وقف عليه قال ما تم قرعة
ولا صداع تتخيرون واحداً نجعله لهم ورجع النصارى وقفوا للسلطان الملك
الكامل مرتين اخرتين فى انهم لا يريدون هذا داود وهو يطيب قلوبهم ويقول
لهم ما ينعمل عليكم إلا من تريدون ولم يزل الحال يتراخا الى ان جاءت الجمعة
السابعة فخرج الاساقفة الى كراسيهم بعد ان كتب منهم ثمانية خطوطهم بمنع
نفوسهم ان قدموا غيره وبقى الحال بحاله والشقاق والفتنة باقيان فلما كان
فى الجمعة الكبيرة نقل السلطان الملك العادل الصنيعة ابو غالب بن السكرى
المقدم ذكره الى تولى ديوان ثغر الاسكندريه وامره بالخروج اليه واستخدم
معه ناظراً يعرف بالقاضى الاكرم بن نهار فأعطى الشيخ ابو الفتوح التزكية
المختصة بالاسكندرانيين للقاضى المذكور لياخذ فيها خط اهل الاسكندريه
وخرج المذكور الى الثغر وكان هذا اول ما قوى نفس نش الخلافة لان هذا

الصنيعة كان مضاهياً له فلما راح استبد هو بالامر وحده وعيّد الناس مفترقى
الآراء كثيرين الضغاين والأخن وبعد ايام وقع اختيار الشيخ نش الخلافة على
سايح بجبال اطرابلس يعرف ببطرس المرشاد ووافقه عليه الجماعة ولم يثبت
على هذا الراى بل كان من طريق الامتحان لبعض الناس واستمر الحال على
ما هو عليه الى ان فرغ الخمسون فاشار الشيخ نش الخلافة الى الجماعة الموافقين
له وكان اكثرهم كتاباً بأن يقفوا للسلطان الملك الكامل ويطلبوا منه تقدمة هذا
داود فاجتمعوا ووقفوا له بدار السلطان عند عبوره الى خدمة ابيه فقال لهم
اين هو هذا الذى اخترتموه احضروه وانفصل مجلسهم ذلك على هذا ورجعوا
بعد ذلك وقفوا له مرة اخرى فى دار السلطان ايضاً فقال هاتوا المحاضر وعبر
الى دار ابيه فسير الشيخ نش الخلافة المحاضر المذكورة اليه الى داخل الدار مع
واحد من غلمان السلطان وكان محضر الاسكندريه قد حضر فسيره معها ثم
خرج الملك الكامل من عند ابيه فوقف له الجماعة وتقاصوه الجواب فقال
جوابكم مع ابى الفتوح فدخل الشيخ الفتوح الى السلطان الملك العادل وقال
يا مولانا مولانا الملك الكامل قال للنصارى كذا وكذا بماذا يجيبهم (عبدك) المملوك
فقال من احضر لى الف دينار قدمته فخرج وأعلم الجماعة ذلك وكان الحكيم
ابو شاكر قد تنجز * كتاب السلطان الملك الكامل الى والى الغربية بأن يجمع ٢٩٠ (ظ)
الاساقفة وينزل حبيس ابيار ويسيره معهم الى ثغر الاسكندريه ليقدموه بطريركاً
فلما خرج يومه ذاك من عند ابيه بعد وقوف النصارى له نزل الى مصر ومضى
الى منظرته بالجزيرة وقف له المصريون وقالوا يا مولانا انت كنت انعمت
علينا ببطرك ونشتهى تمام الانعام فقال ما قد قلنا لكم روحوا اعملوا شغلكم
ثم علّم لهم على الكتاب واعطاه لهم فاخذه القس بو المنصور بن القس بو المعانى
المرسوم على بيعة القديسين سرجيوس وواخس بقصر الشمع بمصر والاسعد
هبة بن صدقة الشماس بكنيسة المعلقة ضامن السمسره بعرصتى الفاكهة بالقاهرة
ومصر وسار بعد ان اخذا معهما بدلة من ثياب البطرك واعطاهما الحكيم بوشاكر
شياً برسم نفقة الحبيس وكان مسيرهما عشية الثلثا فلما اصبح الشيخ ابو الفتوح
وبلغه ما جرى قلق وكل من كان موافقه على رايه فعبر الى السلطان الملك العادل
واعلمه القضية فكتب السلطان كتابا الى والى الغربية بان لا ينزل الحبيس من

مكانه ولا يتغير عن حاله وكتاباً الى والى اسكندريه بان لا يقدم الا من معه
كتاباً وسيّر بهما رسولا جاداً فلما اتصل بالحكيم الخبر طالع المولى الملك الكامل به
فعظم عليه وكتب كتاباً ثانيا بأن يحضر الحبيس الى القاهرة وسيره مع واحد من
غلمانه فأما اولئك فانهم وصلوا الى المحله فى نهار يوم الخميس واجتمعوا
بالامير فرحب بهم وانزلهم عند كاتبه وللوقت كتب باحضار الاساقفة وفى بقية
الليلة وصل كتاب السلطان الملك العادل بالتبطيل وفى صباح يوم الجمعة وصل
كتاب الملك الكامل باحضاره فأمر الامير بذلك وسيّر معهم من يساعدهم على
ذلك فلما وصلوا الى الحبيس وكان يوم الجمعة لم يصلوا الى عشية النهار فانزل
لهم ما ياكلون وهو رجل معروف بكرم وخير فباتوا عنده يروضونه فلما
اصبحوا راودوه على النزول وكان حاضراً هناك اسقف ابيار فقال له امر السلطان
ما يخالف فقال له يا ابى اكتب لى خطك بأنك أذنت لى بالنزول وان هذا
الحبس لى متى عدت اليه سكنت به بلا مانع فكتب له خطه بذلك ثم قدس
القس بومنصور على الهيكل الذى هناك ودفعوا القربان اليه فتقرب على
جارى العاده ودلى قفة من عنده وجلس فيها ونزل باكياً ومن كان حاضراً
من اهل البلد متأسفين لاجل فرقته معترفين بأنهم فى بركته فأخذوه وساروا
وكان بغير نعل فخلع والى ابيار سرموزته من رجله وسأله ان يلبسها فلم يفعل
وكان غلام المولى الملك الكامل محتفظاً به مانعاً احداً ان يقربه فوصلوا الى
قليوب فى بكرة يوم الاحد * فدخلوا الى الكنيسة واجتمع اليهم جمع كبير ٢٩١ (ب)
حتى ان القس بو المنصور حدثنى انه قدس ذلك اليوم وانه حمل ثلاث عشر
قربانه وقرب يسيراً يسيراً وفرح به الناس فرحاً عظيما واضافوه فى قليوب
ضيافات كثيرة ثم خرجوا الى ان وصلوا الى تحت القلعة فجاء اليهم الامير
شمس الدين اخو والى القاهرة فافرد الحبيس منهم وقال لهم يا نصارى قضيت
حاجة السلطان امضوا الى سبيلكم فتركوه ومضوا وبعد رواحهم اركبه على
بغلة وامر الرسول الذى معه ان يعيده على فوره الى مكانه فأخذه من ساعته
ورجع به واعاده وطلع به الى جبّـه وسكتت الناس وانقطع القول بسبب
البطرك مدة وفى هذه المدة جرت امور منها ان امير من الامرآء يعرف بها الدين
شريحا كان له كاتب يعرف بالسنى ابى المجد بن سنى الدولة وكان هذا الامير

قد راح الى اليمن وكانت له هناك جارية محرومة وكان هذا الرجل المسكين
يمنعها التطرف الى التبهرج وفعل ما لا يجب فكرهته وعلمها الشيطان ان مضت
الى والى القاهرة وذكرت انه راودها عن نفسها فانفذ حبسه وشاور عليه السلطان
وجرت عليه شدة وبعد هذا لطف الله به وتخلص وكان صاحبه هذا مسافراً
فلما وصل فى هذه المدة خرج اليه فلقيه على حلوان وسار قدامه فلحقه وضربه
بالسيف فقطع عمامته وشج راسه وضربه ضربة اخرى فلقيها بيده فانجرحت
يده ووكل به من يحضره الى داره ودخل الى القاهرة وهو صحبته واعتقله فى داره
وضيق عليه وبقّى عنده مدة الى ان عمل له حسابه واقتضى منه ما يريده وبعد
ذلك منع من كان يتّردد اليه من نظره يومين ثلثه ثم لما كان بعد ذلك جاووا اليه
بشى ياكل على جارى العادة وكان غلمان الامير كل يوم يوخذون منهم ذاك
ليطلعوا به اليه فلم ياخذوه منهم ذلك اليوم بل قالوا لابنه وغلامه صاحبكم
مات من يومين تعالوا خذوه فعادوا بالويل والحراب واجتمع اخوه واولاده
وجماعة من النصارى ووقفوا للمولى الملك الكامل عند حضوره الى خدمة ابيه
عشية الخميس فلم يجيبهم بكلمة فقعدوا عند دار السلطان الى ان خرج فرجعوا
وقفوا له فقال بينكم الشرع فألحوا عليه فقال ادفنوا ميتكم فخرج بعض
الجماعة ومن فيه مرؤه ليلا كما هو وحصّل له تابوتاً واحضر الحمالين ومضوا
الى الموضع الذى كان فيه فوجدوه المسكين وقد انتفخ ووجهه اسود ولسانه
مدلى على صدره ولا شك انه خنق فحملوه بعد جهد عظيم وخرجوا على
حالهم الى الحبش * ودفنوه وترددوا اهله بعد ذلك الى السلطان وهو لا يخرجهم ٢٩١ (ظ)
من الشرع فاحتبسوه فى سبيل الله وشكروا الله المحمود على كل حال وسكتوا
فالله لا يخلينا من معونته ولا يدخلنا التجارب وفى اثنا هذه المدة كان صبى
نصرانى صعيدى يعمل فى بعض معاصر الزيت الحار وان انسانا من المسلمين
اتهمه بابنه وكان صغير السن وذكر انه حضر اليه وهو على غير الاستوا وانه
ذكر ان الفاعل به هذا الشخص فاعتقل اياما وعرض عليه الاسلام فأبى
فاستفتوا فيه الفقها فافتوا برجمه وان يعمل عليه دايره من الناس ويجعل فيها
فرجه فان هو خرج وسلم فلا يعارض وان مات كان بحقه ففعلوا ذلك .
فلم يكن استطاعة للتخلص بل ضربه عبد كان لابى الصبى بحجر خلط به فكه

فوقع صريعاً وتواتر عليه الرجم الى ان مات فحمل ودفن بالحبش وبعده
بهنيهه طلع الصبى الى السطح لبعض شانه فوقع من البادهنج وتعلق قفص
الكيزان فى اضلاعه فوقع ميتا وذكر ان ذلك النصرانى كان بريأ وان الفاعل
للقبيح العبد الذى قتله فانه لقى شدة عظيمة وهلك وسافر الشيخ السنى بو المجد بن
القسيس بو الفرج الى قوص لانه كان مستوفيها وهو كان اكبر المضادين للقس
داود المجاهدين لسببه وقبض على القاضى الاعز الوزير وخشب واعتقل بدار
السلطان واخذ بو سعيد بن اخت البطرك المتنيح وادخل على السلطان الملك
العادل فقال له اريد منك ارث البطرك لانه حشرى فقال يا مولاى لم يكن له
شى وقد اشهد على نفسه قبل موته قال ذاهذيان اريد ثلثين الف دينار وامر
باعتقاله فى دار السلطان فخافت نفوس الناس واستوثق الامر للشيخ نش الخلافه
وكتب للقس داود بالتزكيه من لم يكن يكتب له ولم يبق من الجماعة من لم يكتب
له إلا النزر اليسير قوم يعدون وبعد ذلك وصل القس نصير الراهب الذى كان
البطرك انبا يوحنا سيره الى بلاد الحبشه بكتابه بالوصاه على المسلمين الذين
هناك والمترددين كما كان امره المولى الملك الكامل ومعه رسول حبشى اسقف
من بلادهم ورجل من اهل اخميم رفيق الاسقف فى الرسالة يعرف بابى الفضل
ابن ابى المنصور وعلى يدهم هدية برسم السلطان وهدية اخرى برسم البطرك
رحمه الله فاما هدية السلطان فاوصلوها واما هدية البطرك فلم يعلم ما كان منها
ونزل المذكورين فى دار على البحر واقاموا مدة ولم يظفروا بكثير طايل ولا متوفر
قبول وانصرفوا الى بلادهم بعد ان شاهدوا من اختلاف الشعب وتفرق اراهم
٢٩٢ (ب) * ووقوع الفتنة بينهم مالا مزيد عليه وبلغ النيل فى هذه السنة الى ... ...[1]
ثم دخل فصل الخريف فمرض الناس كلهم وكان فصلا شديدا مثل الفصل الذى
كان قبله واشد ودخلت سنة ثلاث وثلثين وتسع مايه للشهدا الاطهار وكان
الحكيم بوشاكر ملازما للقلعة بايتاً بها لاجل مرض من بدار السلطان وكانت له
منزلة كبيرة وحرمة عظيمة حتى انه كان يدخل من باب القلعة راكباً الى الباب
الجوانى ولم يكن احد يدخله راكباً الا السلطان وحده وكان فى بعض الاوقات

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(١) بياض بالأصل

يلقى اخوة السلطان واكابر الامرآء وقاضى القضاة وجلة الفقها رجاله يمشون
وهو راكب فلا ينزل وكانوا يعذرونه لان الامر خرج اليه بذلك واما فى هذه
المدة مدة المرض فانه كان يركب فى صحن القاعة الجوانى ويدور على الحرم من
قاعة الى قاعة فرض فى القاعة التى افردت له بالقلعة واقام ايام وتوفى الى
رحمة الله فحمل على سريره الذى كان عليه الى الخندق وجنز هناك ودفن
الى جانب اخيه ابى سعيد فى كنيسة بالدير المذكور واشتمل السلطان على ابن اخيه
وابن ابنه وامرهما بالملازمة واحلهما محله لانه كان علمهما ورجحهما لذلك قبل
موته ثم بقى الحال على ما هو عليه الى طوبه فاستدعانى الشيخ نش الخلافه
وقال نريد رقعة للسلطان بسبب البطرك فقررنا مسودة رقعة مضمونها ان مولانا
قد انعم على كافة الخلق وقوّم كل فاسد وبقى المماليك مختـلى الاحوال بغير بطرك
ويسئلون النظر فى حالهم واخذها فعرضها على السلطان وكان قبل عيد الفطر
فقال بعد العيد ننظر فى حالهم فلما كان فى يوم الجمعة الثامن عشر من طوبه
الموافق للثالث من شوال تقدم الى السلطان وقال يا مولانا النصارى يطلبون
مراحم السلطان بما وعدهم به من النظر فى حالهم فقال نعم اجمعهم حتى نقرر
حالهم فقال يا مولانا ومن هو انا هؤلاء ارباب بيوتات وما يلتفتون الى بل
بأمر مولانا والى مصر والى القاهرة ينذرهم ليحضروا بين يدى مولانا فى اليوم
الذى يعينه وخرج من عنده فى شغل طلبه منه فوجد والى مصر على الباب فعاد
اليه وقال يا مولانا هو ذا والى مصر برا ان كان مولانا يامره بشىء فذاك اليه
قال نعم صيحوا به فاستدعاه وامره ان يجمع النصارى ويحضرهم صحبته يوم
الاثنين الحادى والعشرين من طوبه ليتفقوا على البطرك الذى يقيمه لهم واحضر
والى القاهرة وامره بمثل ذلك فأشعروا الناس ليلة السبت * وليلة الاحد وليلة ٢٩٢ (ظ)
الاثنين واعلموا قسيس كل كنيسة ان يعلم جماعته وياخذهم ويحضر فى صبيحة
يوم الاثنين واما والى مصر فسيّر كاتبه وحاجبه الى المميزين من اهل مصر
يعلمهم بذلك فاجتمع المصريون الى دار امين الدين والى مصر والقاهريون الى
باب دار السلطان وطلع والى مصر بالمصريين واجتمعوا مع القاهريين وكانوا
زها ماية رجل او اكثر ودخلوا جميعهم الى دار السلطان فوجدوا الواليين على
مصطبة بها فاستدعيا جماعة من اعيانهم وقال من تريدون ان يكون لكم بطرك

فقالا القس داود الذى كتبنا له خطوطنا فانتدبوا واحد من المصريين يقال له
بو العزّ ابن وكيل الجناح وهو شماس من شمامسة المعلقة وقال يا مولانا نحن
ما نرضى ووا زره اخر يعرف بابى الرضا بن قسيس كنيسة ابى شنوده بالساحل
وشعثا ولم يتكلم غيرهما فنفد الشيخ نش الخلافة الى ابى العز احضره اليه الى
الخزانة المعمورة ولاطفه فامسك وبقى بو الرضا على حاله فدخل الواليان على
السلطان وعرّفاه اختلاف الجماعة فقال احضروا لى جماعة من هولاء وجماعة
من هولاء حتى اسمع كلامهم فقال جماعة الذين لا يريدون القس داود
بقى من اصحابنا شيخ وهو كبيرنا قس بحارة الروم القاهرة وهو يسمى يوسف
فامر والى القاهرة باحضاره فاحضر وادخل الى السلطان وكان ارشيبابا القسوس
بالقاهرة والقس بركات ارشيبابا القسوس بمصر وجماعة من القسوس وغيرهم
فكر كلا منهم قدام السلطان وزاد ونقص فزجرهم واستقر اخر حديثهم ان رضى
المصريون بالقس بركات والقاهريون بالقس يوسف واعترفا بانهما مقدماهما
فامسك السلطان القسّين وامر باقى الجماعة بالخروج فخرجوا والتفت الى
القسّين فقال لهما كم يحصل للبطرك كل سنة فقالا اربع مابة دينار فى السنة قال
فما يفعل بها قالا ينفقها على نفسه ويتصدق بها قال فاى شى كان قبل بطركيته
قالا تاجراً قال فمن خلف من الورثة قالا اخته قال فكم لها من الميراث قالا
النصف وغلطا فى هذا لانهما كان ضعيفين فى علم البيعة لان شريعة النصرانية
توجب للأخت جميع الميراث اذا لم يخلف غيرها وهما عملا على شرع المسلمين
فقال فالنصف الاخر لمن قالا لك يا مولانا قال فانا اطلب منكما نصيبى لانكما
مقدما الجماعة قالا نحن ما كنا نكاتره ولا نعلم شيأً مما كان فيه فقال هذا شى
ما اعرفه وتشدد عليهما فقالا يا مولاى اولاد اخته أولى بهذا منّا فقال كان له
جماعة اولاد اخت ما نعرف الا واحداً الذى هو عندنا قالا يا مولاى بقى اخر
يسما مكارم * وهو مقيم بمصر فالتفت الى الوالى وقال يحضر الساعة فاحضر ٢٩٣ (ب)
لوقته وترك عند اخيه فى الموضع الذى كان معتقلا به بدار السلطان ثم التفت
اليهما وقال من تريدان ان يكون لكم بطركا قالا يا مولانا نحن لنا عادة ان نعمل
قرعة ونكتب ثلثة اسماء فمن طلع لنا عملناه قال فهذا صاحب المحاضر وكان
السلطان قد سير احضر المحاضر . فقالا يا مولاى ما يجوز عندنا تقديمه لانه

ممنوع من مقدمنا قال فمن الثلثة الذى تعينون عليهم قالا الصنيعة اى غالب بن السكرى قال ذلك كاتبنا ما لكم معه حديث فمن غيره قالا الشيخ بو الكرم رجل من مصر شيخ عالم قال ومن قالا الحبيس الذى بابيار قال فاكتبوا اسماهم بخطكم فكتبا فقال ومن الثالث قالا صاحب هذه المحاضر . قال فالساعة نفيتموه وقلتم ما يجب قالا يا مولاى هذه الرقاع نحن نعتقد انه لا يطلع فيها الا من يختاره الله فما نبالى من كتبنا ونحن نعمل هذا قطعاً للشر لئلا يبقى فى قلب احد من الجماعة شىء فالتفت الى الواليين وقال احضر الى خمسة من وجوه المصريين وخمسة من وجوه القاهريين فخرج الواليين فاختارا خمسة من كل فئة كنت انا من خير المصريين فعبر الجماعة الى قدامه وجلسوا فى الجانبين بين يديه فرفع راسه اليهم وقال هاذان مقدما كما قالوا هاذان مقدما كنايسهما قال أفلستم راضين بما قرراه قالوا حتى نعلم ما هو قال قد ذكرا اسمآء ليعملا عليهما القرعة قالوا ومن هم الاسماء قال السلطان للقسيسين تعرفاهم قالا اخترنا الشيخ ابا الكرم قالت الجماعة يا مولانا رجل شيخ فانى لا يقوم بهذا الامر قال السلطان فأين هو قالوا بمصر قالت الجماعة يا قسيسين من غير ابى الكرم قالا حبيس ابيار قالوا لهما فانتما تعرفاه حتى تزكياه قالا الملك الكامل يعرفه وهو الذى اختاره فقال السلطان الملك الكامل ما يدخل بينكم دعوه عنكم وكثر العياط فامرهم السلطان بالسكوت ثم قال هاتوا المحاضر فاحضرت فقال لوالى القاهرة اعطها لهم فاخذ يدفعها للقاهريين فقال السلطان لا ادفعها لهولاء الذين يخالفون يعنى المصريين ولم يكن احد ممن دخل اليه فى هذه المرة يخالف فى القس داود بل كلهم كانوا كتبوا له وانما السلطان كان يبث فى نفسه ان المصريين كلهم كانوا مخالفين لما كان يجرى من اجتماع اكثرهم ووقفهم للملك الكامل فاخذنا المحاضر . فقال ما تقولون فى هذه قلنا نحن راضون بهذا الرجل وهذه خطوطنا قال ما هو خطكم وحدكم بل وخط الاساقفة والرهابنه قلنا نعم يا مولانا فالتفت الى القاهريين وقال فانتم ما تقولون قالوا راضون بهذا الرجل فقال القسيسين فانتم ما تقولان فسكت القس بركات فقال القس يوسف * اذا رضى هولآء وهولا اى شى تقول نحن ، فقال السلطان اخرجوا واتفقوا مع اصحابكم الذى برّا وقدموا بطرككم ووحيات رأسى وتربة السلطان ان لم تتفقوا ما قدمت

٢٩٣ (ظ)

لكم بطركا ابدا فقاموا خرجوا وارتفعت الضجة بناء على ان القس داود
قد اثبت امره وانخزا الذين يضادونه وعاد اكثرهم الى الرضى ودخل الناس
الى الشيخ نش الخلافة يهنئونه وخرجوا من عنده الى دار القس داوود يخدمونه
ويهنئونه حتى لم تسعهم الدار وكان ناس يروحون واخرون يجيون وما شك
احد فى انه البطرك وانه يكرز فى يوم الاحد الذى بين الرفاعين وهو السابع
والعشرين من طوبه ونفذ الشيخ نش الخلافة لاحضار الاساقفة واجتمع بى
القس وقال تريد كتب التقليد فقلت يا مولاى هذه وظيفة فخر الدولة ابى سعيد
كاتب القلايه وكان قريبا لى وصديقاً ونسيباً ولم يكن طيب القلب بهذه القضية
فقال فخر الدولة الساعة ما اليه سبيل وربما لا يفعل فقلت انا افعل هذا بشرط
على حكم النيابة عنه بشرط ان الاب لا يغير عليه شياً قال سمعاً وطاعة فقررت
نسخة التقليد عربياً واسميته انبا كيرلس وبيضتها ونقلوها الى القبطى وحررت
نسخه القبطى عليها وفصّلت الثياب والفقافير واحضر كرسى كان من مقدم
الزمان برسم البطاركه وجلى واحضرت العكاكيز واشتريت الدواب وتجهز القس
واصحابه للرّواح الى ثغر الاسكندريه بعد القمصيّة وفى اثناء هذا خرج السلطان
الى خصوص عين شمس متوجها الى ثغر الاسكندريه وكان الناس يظنون
ان الشيخ ابا الفتوح قد استخرج امره بتقدمة القس داود ووصل اسقف لقانه
الذى كان يتلوا الارشيابسقوبو واخبر ان اخاه الكبير مريض ووصل معه
بعده ثلثة اساقفه اخر وهما اسقف اشموم واسقف مليج واسقف شطنوف
وتحقق الناس انه قد تم امره وبقى المضاددون له يقولون نحن نفعل ونصنع
اشياء ما كانوا يقدرون عليها لو خرج الامر فلما كان فى عشية السبت ليلة الاحد
المقدم ذكره اجتمعت الاساقفة والجماعة واجروا الحديث فقالوا نحن غدا
فى مصر قال لهم فماذا قالوا كيف أما نكرز البطرك ، قال لا ما له فى غد تكريز
لاننا ما شاورنا السلطان بعد ولا اخذنا كتاباً الى والى الاسكندريه فسكتوا
واصبح المصريون طلعوا الى القاهرة ليجثوا صحبته فاعلموا ذلك فرجعوا
وبقى الاساقفة بالقاهرة ولما كان نهار يوم الثلثا من جمعة الرفاع اجتمعت
جماعة من قسوس المصريين واهل الصفا وقوم ممن كان لا يريد القس
داود وخرجوا يبتغون السلطان ليعلموه انهم لا يريدون * داود وفى يوم

الاربعا اتبعهم الشيخ نش الخلافه جماعة ممن كان معه ليقفوا له ويقولوا انهم يريدونه وخرج هولآء وهولاء وكان السلطان قد رحل فاما جماعة المصريين فانهم تموا فى طلب السلطان واما اصحاب الشيخ ابى الفتوح فانهم لقيوا فى طريقهم الاسقف المعـروف بهديه فى قليوب جايئاً لتكريز البطرك فعرفوه القضية فرجع معهم وكان معه جماعة فصاروا عدة وساروا فوافوا السلطان على معديه دجوه فى نهار يوم الخميس وكان مطر فوقفوا له فقال ما تريدون واحضر الاسقف .

فقال يا مولانا كنت انعمت علينا بتقدمة البطرك ولما وصلت لم اجد معهم خط مولانا ولم ينعمل لنا شى بغير خط وانا اسال من انعام مولانا ان يكتب لنا خطه قال نعم تعالوا الى المنزله نقضى حاجتكم وسار فلقيه تلك الجماعة فقال ما لهولاء فقالوا يا مولانا انت امرت ان نتفق ونحن فما رضينا بهذا الرجل فقال من احضر عشرة الف دينار جعلناه بطركا ووقفوا له مرة اخرى واخرى وهو لا يخرجهم عن ذلك فرجعوا وبقى اوليك سايرين مع السلطان منتظرين ما وعدهم به وكان الشيخ نش الخلافه يعد بالقاهرة لم يخرج منها فلما كان يوم الاحد الرفاع تقرب هو والاساقفة بكنيسة الفخّارين بالقاهرة وبعد القربان اخذ الاساقفة معه ومضى الى دار القاضى الاشرف بن القاضى الفاضل وادخلهم عليه فقال لهم ما بالكم قالوا يا مولانا قد فسدت احوالنا بغير بطرك ونحن فقد رضينا هذا الرجل فقال طيبوا قلوبكم انا اخرج الى السلطان واعلمه ما سمعت منكم وانجز لكم القضية فدعوا له وانفصلوا من عنده وخرج هو والشيخ نش الخلافة فى بقية النهار وسار للسلطان وتلك الجماعة معه وقد انضم اليهم اساقفة اخرون هم يقفون له فى الوقت بعد الوقت ولا يخرجهم عن المواعيد الى ان وصلوا الى ثغر الاسكندريه ووصل الشيخ نش الخلافه واجتمعوا هناك ولم يزالوا كذلك الى ان هم السلطان بالخروج من الثغر فى اخر الجمعة السادسة من الصّوم وكان عازماً على المضى إلى ثغر دمياط فتقدم اليه الشيخ نش الخلافه وقال يا مولانا هولآء النصارى قد طالت مدتّهم ومولانا أولى من قضى حاجتهم فامر السلطان ان يكتب لهم كتاب بتقدمته عليهم فكتب ولم يبق الا العلامة فسمع رجل من كتاب السلطان يعرف بالرضى ابى الرضا بن ددراق فكتب

رقعة الى السلطان بان هذا الرجل ما يصلح وان كل من كتب له انما كتب له
خوفا والاساقفة هو الذى يكلفهم ما جرى من غير رغبة منهم ودخل بها يقصد
٢٩٤ (ظ) من يعرضها * على السلطان فاذا السلطان على باب القاعة منفرداً فقال ما لك
يا ابا الرضى فناوله الرقعة فقراها ثم امر بتبطيل الكتاب وقال نحن نروح الى
مصر نكشف عن حاله واما ما كان من حديث ابنى اخت البطرك فان السلطان
كان قبل خروجه سلمها للصمصام مشد الدواوين فعصرهما وتهددهما وعاقبهما
ولم يزل معهما حتّى قطعا على انفسهما ثلثة الف دينار وضمن عليهما بها واخرجهما
فقاما بها ثم ان السلطان خرج من اسكندريه ورجع رايه عن الرواح الى دمياط
فجاء الى القاهرة ودخل اليها فى نهار يوم الجمعة من الجمعة السابعة من الصوم
المقدس ودخل الشيخ نش الخلافة معه والجماعة وفى نهار يوم السبت الذى هو
سبت العازر احضر الشيخ نش الخلافه الاساقفه الى بين يدى السلطان وكانوا
سبعة ، الاربعة المقيمون بالقاهرة فى دار الشيخ نش الخلافة عند القس داود
وثلثة الذين كانوا يسيرون ورآء السلطان من موضع الى موضع فاستخبرهم
عن القس داود فقالوا نحن راضيون به ولا نخرج عما كتبنا به خطوطنا له
فقال لهم اخرجوا واشهدوا عليكم بذلك فخرجوا الى الديوان وكتبوا عليهم
شهادة برضاهم بالقس داود واستصلاحهم له ان يكون بطريركا وسيرها الشيخ
نش الخلافة الى السلطان فخرجت علامته عليها للوقت فاخذ الشيخ الخط
وسيره الى والى مصر عشاء لكى ينذر الناس بان يخرجوا باكر للقاء بطركهم
وليوقدوا كنيسة المعلقة ويزينوها فنفذ الى كهنة المعلقة وتقدم اليهم بذلك
فشاعت القضية وخرج الاسعد هبة الله بن صدقة المذكور اولا وهو الذى كان
يولب الناس على الوقوف للسلطان بتلك المرار ويجمعهم وصار يدخل من كنيسة
الى كنيسة الى ان اجتمع معه خلق فطلعوا الى القاهرة لوقتهم ومعهم جميع
قسا الكنايس ما خلا قسيس كنيسة بومرقوره وأوقدوا الشمع وقصدوا القلعة
ليلا فلبوا وغوّثوا وصرخوا واستغاثوا الى ان سمعهم الملك الكامل ثم عادوا
ليدخلوا القاهرة فوجدوا باب زويله قد اغلق فرقدوا على الباب وبطلت فى
تلك الليلة جميع كنايس مصر من الابصلمديّة ومن تدوير الزيتونه فلما اصبحوا
قصدوا دار القاضى الاشرف بن الفاضل قبل ركوبه ثم مضوا الى دار السلطان

فمنهم من عبر ومنهم من بقى برا يغوث ويصيح ودخل من هذه الجماعة قوم
الى القاضى عماد الدين بن اخى العلم صاحب الديوان وذكروا له ان البطرك
مات وله فى جهة الاساقفة ديارته سنة وهذه سنة بعد موته والسلطان وارثه
فاطلبها منهم وهى الفان ومايتا دينار فنفذ اليهم ووكل بهم وكانوا عازمين
الى * النزول الى مصر لتقديم البطرك وكتب رقعة للسلطان بانه جرى كذا وكذا ٢٩٥ (ج)
فقال السلطان ان تعرّض اليهم احد ضربت رقبته هذا هذيان اى شىء اسكتهم
عنهم هذا الزمان كله فقد رفع التوكيل عنهم وركبوا مطمأنين وركب معهم
القس واجتمع معهم من الخلق ما لا يحصى عدده وكان يوماً مشهوداً وجآت
الرهجية فاعطوهم شيئا وصرفوهم وتبادرت الاخبار الى مصر بان الامر انبت
فصارت الاسواق لا تنشق فاما المعلقة فلم يكن لأحد فيها وطأة قدم من كثرة
الخلق فطلعوا برزمة فيها ثيابه ومعها عكازه الى كنيسة المعلقة وكان والى القاهرة
قد مضى الى الملك الكامل وعرّفه ما جرى فقال مهما أمر به السلطان تمتثل
فلما غوث النصارى تلك الليلة نفذ استدعاه وحمله رسالة الى ابيه وكان القس
والجماعة قد خرجوا من باب الخوخه قاصدين مصر فوصلوا الى الميمونة
ومعهم نايب والى القاهرة وتلقاهم بن والى مصر هناك واذا رسل قد جآءوا
عدواً استردوا الاساقفة وقالوا السلطان طلبهم وفى الحال جآء سهم الدين والى
القاهرة يركض فاستعاد الخط الذى كان فيه علامة السلطان واخذ الاساقفة
معه وعاد فلما وصل الى باب دار السلطان كاد الناس يرجمون الاساقفة
فحماهم سهم الدين وقال والله ان تعرض اليهم احد قطعت يده فكفت عنهم
الايدى بل تناولوهم بالالسن فشتموهم وسبوهم وعيروهم وعبروا الى دار
السلطان فعيقوا بها واما القس وبعض الجماعة فدخلوا الى كنيسة حارة الروم
الحمرا وبعضهم بقى برا على الطريق وبعضهم بل اكثرهم تغللوا وبقى من بقى
منتظرين لم ينقطع رجاهم واما اوليك فكانوا مقيمين على باب دار السلطان
لما دخل الملك الكامل الى خدمة ابيه وقفوا له وراهم ولما خرج وقفوا له
ودعوا له وطالت الحال وجآت التاسعة وكنت انا فى جميع ما جرى فى هذا
النهار مقيما بكنيسة ابو سرجه فلما قيل لى قد وصل الى الميمونه قلت اقوم القاه
على راس الدرب فقمت ركبت وانا اقول هنا القاه هنا القاه الى ان قيل لى

الجماعة قد نزلوا عند الحمرا فتعجبت واسرعت لعلم الخبر فجيت وجدت
اصحابنا قعوداً فاعلمونى القضية فقعدت معهم فلما فاتت التاسعة قلت اليوم
عظيم وما يجب ان يفوتنا فيه القربان وكان هناك قس من اهل دميره يسمى
بانوب فاخذته معى وجماعة من اصحابنا المكابرين لى وجينا الى كنيسة غبريال
وكانوا قدسوا فيها قبل ذلك فطلبنا قربانة فاحضرت واحضر كسوة وانيه
فقدسنا وتقربنا وعدت انا الى كنيسة بو سرجه التى كنت مقيم بها * فى الصوم ٢٩٥ (ظ)
وبقى بعض اصحابنا منتظراً على حاله فاما اوليك المصريون فبقوا على باب
دار السلطان الى العشا الى ان اخرجت الاساقفة واكثرهم باتوا بالقاهرة واما القس
داود فاقام بكنيسة حارة الروم الحمرا الى عشية النهار ثم عاد الى بيته وبطلت
كنايس مصر فى هذا النهار من القداس وهو يوم الشعانين واصبحوا الناس
يوم الاثنين الذى هو اول يوم البصخه وكان عيد الاضحى اجتمعوا ووقفوا
للسلطان بالاناجيل والمجامر والصلبان يدعون له وخرجوا الاساقفة فى ذلك
النهار كل منهم الى كرسيه ورجع الناس الى كنايسهم واستقروا بها وعيّدوا
والقال والقيل بينهم يحتبك واما ما جرى على البيعة فى هذه الايام فان وكيل
السلطان جآء الى قصر الشمع وصقعه جميعه واخذ الناس بأن يقوموا عن كل
دار بشى على حكم الحكر واخذ من كثير منهم وحدد عليهم الحكر مضاعفاً
وقطع على اوقاف الكنايس التى للذمه عن كل دار خمسة دنانير ووقع للناس
من ذلك فى شدة عظيمة وكان التوكيل على القسوس فى كل حين بهذا السبب
وقاموا ببعض المبلغ فغرمت كنيستا المعلقة وبوسرجه زهاء خمسون دينار ولما
وصل السلطان وقفوا عن الطلب وبعد ذلك وردت الاخبار بغلا الغلة
فى الشام وخصوصاً ارض القدس والساحل حتى انهم ذكروا ان الماء عدم
بها وان عين سلوان نزحت حتى صارت طريقا ولم يسمع بمثل هذا وتحركت
الاسعار بمصر الى خمسة وثلثين دينار المائة اردب القمح ثم انحطت الى سبعة وعشرين
دينار وعمل جسر مراكب من الجزيرة الى الجيزه وكان مبتداه من قدام الصناعة
المستجده وعدة المراكب التى فيه ثلثة وخمسين مركبا وكان كماله فى نهار يوم
الخميس التاسع من ابيب سنة ثلاث وثلثين وتسع ماية وأبيح للناس بغير حق
يطلب عنه واستخدم السلطان برسمه رجال لاصلاح ما يفسد منه ولفتح

الابواب للمراكب المصعده والمنحدره لانهم عملوا فيه مواضع لاجل ذلك بفتح المراكب وتعاد على حالها وصار الناس رايحين الى الجيزه وجايين ركابا ورجالة وفرحوا بذلك فرحاً عظيما ودعوا للسلطان بسببه وعمل عليه درابزين خشب من الجانبين احترازا من ان يسقط احد الى البحر فى وقت .

ووجد الناس به راحة عظيمة ووصل الماء فى هذه السنة الى اثنين وعشرين اصبعاً من سبع عشر ذراعاً ثم انحط وتحركت اسعار الغلة الى ان بلغ القمح خمسين دينار المااية اردب ثم انحط الى خمسة وعشرين دينار ورجعوا كرروا الطلب على القسوس فى طلب قيمة ما قطعوه على الاوقاف ولم يزالوا مجتهدين الى ان غلقوه بعد جهد وشدة ورهبان اجحفت بالكنيسة وفى هذه السنة * ٢٩٦ (ب) خرج السلطان الملك العادل من القاهرة الى البركة المعروفة ببركة الحبش طالبا للدار الشامية لما بلغه من اخبار الفرنج وكثرتهم واقام بها مدة ثم انتقل الى بلبيس دخلت سنة اربع وثلثين وتسع مايه ثم توجه الى الشام ونزل ببيسان يجمع عساكره وجنوده واقام بها مدة طويلة وكان قد وصل الى الافرنج ملك من ورا البحر يعرف بملك الهنكر وقيل انهم اجتمعوا فى اربعة الف راكب ومااية الف راجل وقصدوا عسكر الاسلام ببيسان فلم يثبت قدامهم بل انهزموا وتبعتهم الافرنج اربعة خمسة ايام الى ان ابعدوهم عن الساحل ونهبوا من الغلال والاسلحة وقتلوا واسروا خلقاً عظيما ثم عادوا نزلوا على طبريّه اياما ثم رجعوا الى عكا اقاموا بها يعملون آلات الحصار ثم خرجوا نازلوا الطور وهى قلعة عظيمة استنجد بها الملك العادل قريبة من عكا وقاتلوها عشرة ايام وقتلوا مقدمها ثم رحلوا منها بغير سبب علم وعادوا الى عكا وكان قبل عيد الميلاد المقدس وفى هذه الايام امر السلطان عزّ نصره بعرض المسجونين فعرضوا عليه فكان فيهم رجل يسمى اسداً وكان حايكاً وكان قد تخاصم مع امرأته فحملته الى الشرع فجرت منه لقطه شهد عليه بالاسلام وانكره فاعتقل وبقى فى الاعتقال مدة سنة الى هذا الاوان فاحضره السلطان ورغبه ووعده بمال وكسوة ان هو بقى على الاسلام فامتنع وقال ما انا الا نصرانى وعلى نصرانيتى اموت فقال له ويلك تلفظ بالشهادة قدامى واينما اردت امضى أفتضل بنفسك قال لا كان هذا ابدا ولم يزل الحال يتردد بينهم وبينه الى يوم الغطاس المجيد فامر بضرب رقبته

فاحضره والى القاهرة عند باب زويله واحضر الشهود وعرض عليه الاسلام
قدامهم فامتنع وقال انجزونى بالله عليكم ولا تردونى الى الحبس فتقدم اليه
احد مماليكه فنخسه بالسيف الى ان غاب منه فيه اربع اصابع فقال له كمل
فقال له المملوك مدّ عنقك فمده فضربه ضربة طارت بها رأسه عن جسده
وعلق بدنه على باب زويله ومجد الناس الله على صبر هذا الرجل وحسن ايمانه
وبقى معلقاً ثلثة ايام وبعد ذلك حطوه واخرجوه خارج المدينة واخذوا ان
يحرقوه ولم يلق عليه من الوقود ما يفى باحراقه فبقى جسده سالماً واجتمعت
جماعة من النصارى المباركين وسالوا الوالى فيه فاعطاهم اياه فاخذوه ودفنوه
فى كنيسة الملكيه التى بحارة الروم الحمرا وشكروا الله الذى يثبت قديسيه على
الايمان باسمه الى اخر نفس وفى هذا الوقت * امر السلطان ابقاه الله ان يعمل ٢٩٦ (ظ)
على مصر سور من جانب البحر وان يمد مع طول الخليج الى القاهرة وشرعوا فى
ذلك وابتدوا به من عند دار الملك وحفروا الاساس وشرعوا فى العمارة وفى هذه
الايام خرج امر الملك الكامل الى القاهرة ومصر بان يخرجوا كل ليلة ويتشالقوا
ففعلوا ذلك وصارت تقع بينهم القتلى والجرحى والمعطوبون من الحجارة وصار
كل من فى البلدين بايديهم المقاليع وبطلوا اهل مصر وبقى اهل القاهرة على
الحال وهم فى كل وقت متزايدين وبعد ذلك دخل الصوم المقدس فجعل
الاراخنة اصحاب القس داود ياخذونه فى كل احد الى كنيسة ويقدس بها
ويفرحون معه لانه كان كاهناً حسناً وعالماً خبيراً ومحبوباً ممن يخاف الله فاما من
كان تعانده فما كان تعانده الا لوجوه شتى اغراضيّه منهم من كان يحسده
ومنهم من كان يخاف من تقدمته لاجل اشياء هو مرتكبها او من مكروه قد
اسداه اليه فيخاف معاقبته عليه ومنهم من لا يدرى فيظن لاجل كثرة الشناعة
ان الامر صحيح وانه غير مستحق فيضادد فى امره ديناً فلما كان فى الاحد الثالث
خلف عليه بعض الجماعة الى كنيسة القديس بوسرجه بمصر باتفاق من قس
البيعة المذكورة فحضر وحضرت معه جماعة من الاراخنة وشعب كثير وضرب
له قسيس الكنيسة المطاونه فقدس فلما وصلوا الى الابسطلس واذا برجل
يعرف بابن صدقه المقدم ذكره قد دخل ومعه غلمان الوالى وشغب وصاح
وافترى على قس البيعة ورام تبطيل القداس بعد ان حمل القربان واجتمع

من الناس على باب الكنيسة خلق عظيم لينظروا ما يكون وجرت مفاوضات
كثيرة اخرها ان القس داود يكمل القداس ووالى مصر قاعد له فى وسط الكنيسة
على دكة ليحفظ القس داود ممن يتعرض اليه لان ابن صدقه واصحابه راموا
رجمه وهو على الهيكل وكمل القداس كيرلس على ما جرت به عادته لم يتغير
شى من كهنوته المعروف منه ثم خرج وركب ووالى مصر راكب معه فى
خدمته الى ان اوصله الى قريب القاهرة ومضى الى بيته سالم واجتمع الصعيدون
بياعون الزيت الحار والاشنان الذين هم يعتقدون ان هذا الذى يعملونه دين
لغرارتهم وجهلهم ورباطهم وطلعوا الى تحت القلعة ثانى يوم وقصدوا الوقوف
للسلطان وكتبوا رقاعاً ولم يخرج لهم جواب بل رجعوا خايبين وهذه امور لله
فيها سر ومشيئة وهو العالم بالمصلحة فى كل شى وبقى الناس على ما هم عليه
ولما كان يوم الثلثا الرابع من بوونه من السنة المذكورة وصلوا الفرنج الى ثغر
دمياط[1] فى عدة عظيمه ونزلوا على بر الحيره وضربوا خيامهم وتقدموا الى برج
السلسلة فصبوا عليه منجنيقات * وقاتلوه وعبروا بشخاتير وحراريق حربية ٢٩٧ (ج)
الى البحر الحلو وصاروا قبلى السلسلة وانقطعت الميرة عن دمياط فى البحر
وما صار ينقل اليها شى الا فى البر على الجمال واشتد بالناس الامر واخلت
الدميرتان والمحله وشنهور وسخا واكثر البلاد البحريه وانتقل اهل مصر الى القاهرة
ووصلت العساكر من الشام الى دمياط وخرج من مصر والقاهرة خلق عظيم
للجهاد فمنهم من انفق فيهم السلطان ومنهم من انفق فيهم وجوه المدينتين ومنهم
من خرج من ذات نفسه ديناً وصارت الاخبار تزيد وتنقص واتخذ الناس فى
بيوتهم الطواحين وخزنوا القمح والدقيق والكعك والارز وغيره من الات
الحصار وخرج الملك الكامل بنفسه الى الثغر واقام على شارمساح ونصب
الافرنج على دمياط وعلى برج السلسلة الذى مقابلها ثمانية منجنيقات وكانت
حجارتها تصل الى وسط المدينه وكانت نشابهم لا تفتر ليلا ولا نهاراً مع
المنجنيقات على الاستمرار وكانت القتلى والجرحى كثيرة جدا ولما كان فى نهار

[1] فى هامش ورقة ٢٩٦ ظ يوجد البيان الآتى : « الذى حلف عليه هو الشيخ علم الملك بن الحج شمس الرياسة جامع هذه السيرة » .

يوم الجمعة الثامن والعشرين من بوونه. ركبوا فى زهاء سبعين ثمانين مركباً
بعد ان لبدوها وستروها وزحفوا بها على البلد وقاتلوا قتالا عظيما وكان يوماً
شديداً ثم رجعوا الى منزلتهم والحال على ما هو عليه من ضرب المنجنيقات
ورمى النشاب الى يوم الاحد السابع من ابيب فعملوا على اربع بطس اربعة
ابراج وزحفوا بثلثة منها الى البرج وواحدة الى الثغر وقاتلوا وجدوا فى القتال
واشرفوا على البرج ونصبوا سلالم للطلوع اليه ولم يبق فى اخذه شىء ومالوا
كلهم الى صوب البرج وكانوا مثقلين بالحديد فانقسم الصارى ووقع كل
من كان على السلالم الى البحر بزردياتهم وعددهم فغرقوا كلهم وفرح المسلمون
بذلك فرحاً عظيما وزينت المدينتان ورجع من سلم منهم الى منزلتهم والحال على
ما هو عليه من ضرب المنجنيقات ورمى النشاب وبعد ايام وصلت الاخبار
بان احد اولاد السلطان دخل الى بلاد عكا واخذ منها برجاً يسمى دهوق
كان فيه ثلثون نفساً وضربت ايضاً البشاير بالقاهرة وعملت بالقاهرة ومصر
سلسلة عظيمة لتقوى بهاتيك السلسلة وزنها ماية وثلثون قنطارا بالمصرى
واستمر الحال على الرمى بالنشاب والضرب بالمنجنيقات وركب من الفرنج
خيل وغاروا الى بعض الدنجاويه واخذوا منها غلة وتبنا وعادوا وقتلوا من لقيوه
فى الطريق وسير السلطان احرق البلاد المجاورة للموضع الذى وصلوا اليه
وصارت الغارات مستمرة فى البر والبحر والقتال لا يفتر وكان مقابلهم فى بر العرب
جماعة كبيرة من العربان تناهز ثلاثة الف فارس ومعهم اميرين * من اكابر العرب ٢٩٧ (ظ)
فركب من الفرنج الفا فارس وكان بينهم وبينهم مسافة يوم واحد فساقوا ركضاً
الى ان وصلوهم فلما صدموهم انهزموا قدامهم وقتل منهم خلق كثير واسر
وحصّل بيد الفرنج من الخيول العربية مالا يدرى وتمّوا عليهم الى ان تعدوا
خيامهم واخذوها واخذوا كلما فيها واخذوا الازواد التى كانت عندهم والجمال
ورجعوا الى منزلهم فاما العرب الذين انهزموا فمنهم من كان من الفيوم ومنهم من
كان من الصعيد فتموا على شوطهم نهبوا من كان بقى فى العربيه وتفرقوا
الى بلادهم وفى اثنا ذلك هدم الملك المعظم سلطان الشام قلعة الطور التى كان
الافرنج نازلوها ونقل جميع ما كان فيها الى القدس الشريف واستتموا الحال
بالزحف بين كل يومين ثلثة والرمى بالمنجنيقات العظيمة الهايله التى وزن حجر

احدها فكان ثلثماية وخمسين رطلا بالمصرى والنشاب العظيم الكبير الذى هو
اصناف وانواع واهتموا بمراكب يسمونها المرمه وهى بطستان قربوهما
واوثقوهما بالاخشاب والمسمار الى ان بقيت الاثنتان مثل واحدة وعملوا فيها
اربعة صوارى وركبوا على الصوارى برجاً من الخشب وعملوا حوله سوراً
مثل سور المدن بشراريف وعملوا اسقاله عظيمة بحبال وبكر ترخى وترفع
وتقدموا الى البرج فى نهار يوم الجمعة اول النسى من سنة اربع وثلثين وتسع مايه
وكان به ثلثماية مقاتل من المسلمين فارخوا الاسقاله على البرج ونزلوا اليه وملكوا
الطبقة الفوقانية وقتلوا من كان فيها فاما الذين فى الطبقة الوسطا فصاحوا الامان
فاسروهم وكان الجسر قد انقطع فلم يفلت منهم احد الا من رمى بنفسه الى البحر
وكان يوما عظيما ونصبوا على البرج الاعلام والصلبان وسدوا بابه الذى من
جانب دمياط وفتحوا الباب الذى من برهم ونصبوا جسرهم من عندهم اليه
واخذوا فيه من الاسلحة والنفط والازواد ما لا يحصى وفرحوا فرحاً عظيما
وكثرت الادلة على نظر سيدنا لهذا الدين ورضاه عن اهله فمنه ما حدثنى به
القسيس بانوب وهو رجل فاضل مسيحى صادق قال قدست فى هذه السنة
بكنيسة سمرسه من اعمال الغربيه فى يوم عيد الثلثة الفتيه وهو عشرة ايام فى
بشنس فلما كان وقت الاسبسمس الذى هو الصلح ظهر فوق قبة الهيكل
شخص جالس على كرسى وقدامه شخص واقف بين يديه وفى يده مجمره
وهو يبخر ولهيب النار صاعد من المجمره ثم ظهر بداير القبة كلها خياله ركاب على
خيل مثل صور القديسين التى فى الكنايس وكانوا يدورون حول القبة وأذناب
خيلهم تتحرك وكلهم اعنى الناس يشاهدونها فاذا وصلوا الى الكرسى صقعوا
وعبروا ولم يزالوا كذلك إلى * وقت القربان انصرفوا وظهر مثل ذلك فى كنيسة ٢٩٨ (ب)
حانوت من مدة طويله وشاع وايضاً فى كنيسة شباس وفى كنيسة السيدة بظاهر
منية عمرو فى كنيسة الشهيد بويحنس بشبرا الخيمة وكل ذلك يشهد به المسلمون
اهل البلاد وحدثنى هذا القس ايضاً انه رأى فى منامه كانه واقف بكنيسة
يصلى وكأن صليباً قد ظهر من المشرق قدر دراع فى مثله وكأنه كله نار يتقد وفى
وسطه صورة السيد وكأنه سجد له وارتاع وأعلن بكيريااليصون ورفع رأسه فرأى
الصليب قد امتد من اربع الجهات الى ان ملأ الافق وعم الارض فانتبه عند ذلك .

وحدثنا ايضا انه رأى فى ليلة اخرى كأن الفتنة قد ثارت والناس قد خافوا
وكأنه هو فى كنيسة وكأن رجلا جآء اليه فقال له كلم الهنكر فحضر بين يديه
فقال له امض الى اخوتنا النصارى طمن قلوبهم وهدهم واعلمهم اننا ما جينا
الا ننتقم من اعدايهم ما جينا لنوذيهم وانهم باقون فى كنايسهم وعلى سنتهم
وعند ذلك استفاق من منامه وتاخر وفاء النيل فى هذه السنة الى السادس من
توت فخلق المقياس وكسر الخليج فيه ونودى على الماء فى ثانيه اربعة اصابع
من سبعة عشر ذراعاً ودخلت سنة خمس وثلثين وتسع مايه للشهداء الاطهار
وبعد ذلك وردت الاخبار بموت الملك العادل ابى بكر محمد بن ايوب وكان
السلطان الكبير والملك العظيم وكانت مملكته من اليمن الى خلاط وجعل كل
واحد من اولاده فى مملكه فالملك الكامل وهو ولى عهده بمصر وهو الذى فتح
اليمن واقام به ولداً له ينعت بالملك المسعود وفى الشام الملك المعظم وفى المشرق
وخلاط الملك الاشرف وفى الرها شهاب الدين غازى وفى قلعة جعبر الملك
الحافظ وفى قلعة بصرى واعمالها الملك الصالح وفى قلاع ببنين وهونين والشقيف
وبانياس الملك العزيز وحلف الناس للملك الكامل انه السلطان من بعده وخطب
له على المنبر وضربت السكة باسمه وهو مقابل الافرنج على دمياط وانتهى
النيل فى هذه السنة الى سبعة اصابع من سبعة عشر ذراعاً وهى سنة خمس وثلثين
وتسع مايه القبطية وانحط بسرعة وشرق اكثر الديار المصرية وتحرك سعر الغلة
واجتمع على الناس فى هذه السنة ثلثة اشياء موت السلطان ونزول العدوّ
على البلاد وشحة النيل والكنيسة خالية من البطرك ثم ان المسلمين اجتمع
رأيهم على ان يقصدوا الافرنج ويزحفوا اليهم فعدا من خيالتهم مقدار اربعة الف
فارس ومن الرجاله مثلها ورتبوا خمسين ستين مركباً شوانى وحراريق تزحف
فى البحر فاما الخياله فكان زحفهم من القبله فوصلوا * الى خندق الافرنج فوجدوه ٢٩٨ (ظ)
منيعاً وخلفه حمّية من المقاتله فلم يتعدوه واما الرّجاله فانهم زحفوا من جانب
البحر من شرقى منزلة الافرنج فاخلوا لهم الفرنج اطراف الخيم واندفعوا قدامهم
واوجدوهم الضعف والقلة الى ان توسطوا خيامهم ثم قاطعوا عليهم من الجنوب
فقتلوا اكثرهم ولم يفلت منهم الا من رمى بنفسه الى البحر واكثر الذين رموا
نفوسهم الى البحر غرقوا لان منهم من لا كان يعرف يعوم من رجالة الشام

ومنهم من يعرف العوم فاعجل عن نزع لباسه فوقع به الى البحر فغرّقـه
واما الذين فى المراكب فلما رأوا ما كان من الرّجاله بقوا مكانهم ولم يرجعوا
وكانت وقعة عظيمة فى نهار يوم الثلثا الحادى عشر من بابه ورجع السلطان
امر العسكر الذى كان تمدى بالرجوع الى برّ دمياط وشرع فى الحشد والجمع
ولما كان فى نهاريوم الجمعة السابع والعشرين من بابه زحفت الافرنج الى عسكر
المسلمين الذى كان عدى الى بر العرب وكانوا زهاء الف فارس لانهم كانوا
حلقة الملك الكامل بكمالها ومن انضاف اليهم من العرب والمغازيز فكسروهم
جميعهم واوصلوهم الى البحر واخذوا خيولهم وعـدّدهم وقتلوا جماعة من
ابطالهم ولم يسلم منهم الا العدد القليل من رمى بنفسه الى البحر وكان خبيراً بالعوم
واشتد الرعب وخافت نفوس الناس وعظمت مهابة الافرنج وانحلت العزايم
عن لقايهم وتمادى الحال على ذلك ودخل الشتا وشتّى الافرنج على البلاد
ولما كان فى اوايل كيهك جآء نوعظيم ورياح عاصفه وطلعت البحيره مما تحامل
عليها من البحر المالح ففرقت خيام العسكر من دمياط الى العادليّـة وهى القرية
التى استجدت فى بر دمياط مقابل بورة بعد اخذ الفرنج لبوره وهلك فى هذه
النوبه من المسلمين خلق عظيم ومن الدواب وضاع من الاموال الامتعة والاسلحة
ما لا يقع عليه الحصر وكان البحر قد طما والامطار والبرد يقع والريح يكاد
يزعزع الجبال وكانت شدة عظيمة لم يشاهد مثلها وحمل البحر مسرمة كان
الافرنج عملوها على ست بطس كبار وعملوا فيها من السلالم والابراج والازقة
ما لا يحصيه الوصف فرماها فى برالمسلمين وكان فيها ستة عشررجلا منهم اربعة عشر
قاتلوا حتّى قتلوا واثنان رموا نفوسهم الى البحر وعاد الى البر الاخر فاخذهما
الملك وشنقهما كيف لم يقتلا ويصبرا للحرب مثل البقية وتكاثر المسلمون على
هذه المرّمه فنظروا ان ليس لهم بها طاقة وانهم لا يحسنون تدبيرها ولا يامنون
من ان تتكاثر الافرنج عليهم فياخذونها منهم فاحرقوها وكانت شياً عجيبا
لا يوصف وكانت للفرنج مراكب فى البحر جائيه من عكا وغيرها لانهم
منذ نزلوا هذه * المنزلة لم تنقطع المراكب عنهم فتكسرت كلها واسندت الى ٢٩٩ (ب)
البروز فاخذ منها شى فى غزه والعريش وغيرهما وكانوا قد حفروا بحراً كان
يعرف بخليج الزعفران ليعبروا مراكبهم منه لان السلطان كان قد وعر ما بين

البرجين خشيه من عبورهم بمراكبهم الكبار فلما جات الامطار وطلع البحر
الكبير ملا الخليج الذى حفروه وكانوا قد قرّبوا الحفر من البحر فصاروا يحملون
مراكبهم على الحمير ويطرحونها فى ذلك البحر فصار لهم فيه جملة مراكب
واستمر الحال على ذلك الى مدة فرجع السلطان غرّق مراكب قدام الموضع
الذى طلعوا اليه وجعلها ثلاث صفوف وركب فيها صوارى وسمّر عليها
صوارى اخر بالعرض فلما كان فى يوم السبت الذى بين الرفاعين هيأت الافرنج
مراكبهم وطلعوا اليها بآلاتهم وخيامهم وعددهم واسلحتهم وطاب لهم الريح
وكان هذا اليوم الثامن من امشير فاقلعوا يدا واحده والمسلمون كلهم مطلبون
على البر راجلهم وفارسهم ومعتقدين انهم يصلون الى تلك الصوارى فيقفون
فلما وصلوا الى تلك الصوارى جعلها الله لهم مثل الحشيش فقصفوها جميعاً
وتموا طالعين الى الموضع الذى ارادوه وهو مضيق البحر فتعجب المسلمون
من ذلك وكان عليهم يوماً شديداً واقاموا جميعا الافرنج والمسلمون يوم السبت
والاحد والاثنين ملبسين رابطين بعضهم بعضا فلما كان فى ليلة الثلثا الحادى عشر
من امشير جرى بين السلطان وواحد من اكابر الامرا يعرف بابن المشطوب
بخلف معاهم فيه من الارتباك والشدة فقضى ذلك برحيلهم جميعهم ليلا
وتركهم لخيامهم وجميع عددهم والاتهم واصبح الافرنج متعجبين معتقدين
انها مكيدة لانهم كانوا يودون لو هلك اكثرهم حتى تملكوا شطرا من بر الشرق
لا غير فاتفق لهم ان ملكوه منعماً من الخيرات والنعم التى لا توصف ولا تحد
ولا تحصى قيمتها فطلعوا الى البر المذكور فى يوم الثلثا المقدم ذكره وتسلموا
الخيام بجميع ما فيها والابراج والمنجنيقات والعدد والزرد التى لا تحصى كثره
وقتلوا كل من وجدوه متخلفا فى المنزله لان الناس كانوا يظنون ان طلوعهم
اليها يتراخى فبقوا بها طمعاً فيما يشيلونه من قماشهم وكانوا زهاء ثلاثة الف نفس
واحاطوا بدمياط من كل ناحية ونصبوا عليها المنجنيقات وجدوا فى القتال
عليها واما السلطان فانه غرس سنجقه باشموم وكل من راه من الامرا الاكابر
وقف حوله فاما المغاربه والطواشين فانهم ساحوا فى البلاد واكثرهم عبروا
الى القاهرة وبقى الناس مختبطين فعاقت * نفوسهم جدا وكثرت الشناعات على ٢٩٩ (ظ)
النصارى واشتد بعض القوم فيهم وكان فى اثناء هذه الحال اجمع المسلمون

وقرروا تصقيع الاملاك بمصر والقاهرة واخذ اجرتها شهرين ومساعدة السلطان
بها وصقعوا مصر ولم يستخرجوا منها شيا وبطل ذلك ثم عادوا جبوا من
المسلمين على قدر احوالهم طريقين حتى انتهوا الى ان اخذوا من الخمسة دراهم
الى ما فوق ولم يجد ذلك نفعاً ولا حصل منه طايل وبعد هذه الكسرة المقدم
ذكرها بيومين ثلاثه وصل الملك المعظم سلطان الشام الى اخيه الملك الكامل
الى اشموم واتفق رايهما وقبضوا على ابن المشطوب الذى هو اكبر الامراء الذى
ذكر انه كان سبب الكسرة وقيدوه وسيروه الى قلعة الكرك موثقا ثم ذكر انه
نفى الى بلاد الشرق وكانت الاقوال تزيد وتنقص فقوم قالوا قتل كل نصرانى
فى دمياط وقوما قالوا ما قتل الا الاسرى لانهم وجدوهم قد بقوا وراموا
الخروج الى اصحابهم واما اهل منية ابن سلسيل فان اهلها ثاروا على النصارى
واهلكوا منهم جماعة وكان الزمن كلما مرّ اشتد والفتنة كلما مرت عظمت
ثم رسم بتصقيع املاك الناس بمصر والقاهرة وان يجبى منهم اجرة شهرين واخذ
اكابر مصر ان يجبوا من اهلها شيأ على قدر احوالهم ويسيروه مساعدة للسلطان
والمسلمين فحصلوا فى جبايتين زهآء ثلثة الف دينار ولما وصل الملك المعظم
ملك الشام واجتمع باخيه اتفق رايهم على ان يعدوا الى بر الغرب لان صليبه
الفرنج كانت فيه فعدّوا بالعساكر والجنود وامروا بعمارة سور من مصر الى
القاهرة ليحوز البلدين وشرعوا فى عمارته وبدوا فيه من مصر من عند دار الملك
ومن القاهرة من اللؤلؤه وجعلوا اساسه الحجر وباقيه بالتراب عمل المغاربة
ثم استأدوا جوالى الذمه لسنة ست عشر وستمايه فى يوم الاثنين الثامن عشر
من ذى الحجه سنة خمسة عشر وستمايه ثم رجع رأيهم عن عمل السور بالتراب
فهدموا ما كانت المغاربة عملته وشرعوا فى البنايه باللبن ثم ورد الامر باستخراج
اجر الاملاك من الناس كافة بالقاهرة ومصر وشرع فى استخراجها واما ما كان
من امر العسكر فى تعديته الى بر الغرب فانهم وصلوا الى قرب منزلة الافرنج
فى يوم الاحد السابع من برمهات فارسل الله ريحاً عاصفة وامطاراً وهاج البحر
وطلع اليهم ولولم يتلافوا بالرجوع كان غرقهم فرجعوا ولم ينالوا قصداً وعدوا
الى بر الشرق ونزلوا على فارسكور وما والاها وكانت فى هذه السنة شتوة
ما شوهد مثلها فى الديار المصريه حتى انه حدث بها من الثامن برمهات الى

٣٠٠ (ﺟ) الخامس عشر منه من الرياح والامطار والبرد الشديد ما لم يشاهد * قط مثله
وكانت احوال هذه السنة كلها عجيبة غريبة وبعد ذلك ورد امر السلطان باخراج
نصف اهل مصر والقاهرة الى القتال اختياراً واضطرارا وخرج اكثر الناس وصار
المميزون الذى لا يليق بهم الخروج يفدون انفسهم بما يقومون به من الذهب
كل منهم على قدر حاله فاما النصارى الذين بالقاهرة انهم جبوا منهم مع اصحاب
المعايش كل من كان متمعشاً مع اهل معيشة ولم يجحف بهم ولا باحد من اهل
القاهرة وفى الاخر جبوا من الكتاب المقيمين بها وراعوا البعض وتركوا البعض
فاما مصر فان واليها كان منقاداً بالفقها فاحضر قسّا الكنايس التى للقبط والملكية
وقال لهم تخرجون وتهددهم وقال انتم تخرجون مع المسلمين وما تصلون معهم
الى باب المدينة حتى يقتلوكم وما يقدر احد يقول لهم فى هذا الوقت شياً وكان
الميل فى القول بالاكثر على الملكية لانهم كانوا يشنعون عليهم بانهم يحبّون
الافرنج وانهم على سنتهم فى تربية الشعر وترك الختان وما شابهه فعمل فيهم
الخوف واستعجل واحد منهم وقال عندنا الف دينار فقالوا مبارك قوموا جيبوا
بالف دينار وقالوا للحاضرين من قسوس القبط هولاء منكم بالقيراط نحن
نجعلهم بالعشر اعطونا عشرة الف دينار واخر الحال انهم قرروا عليهم ثلثة الف
دينار وخرج جميعهم بالترسيم وعلقت سلبه فى كنيسة المعلقة وسلبه فى كنيسة
الملكيه وسلبة فى كنيسة اليهود لان الأخر كانوا وزنوا فى المرة الأوله وقت
ما طلب من النصارى شىء خمسماية دينار وقرروا عليهم فى هذه النوبة
ستماية دينار وصار الضرب فى الناس والتعليق والترسيم والهوان وكان القسا هم
الذين يخرجون اسماء الناس ويقطعون عليهم القطايع وكانت ايام الصّوم المقدس
وكانت اياما صعبة شديدة واضطهاد عظيم فاما الملكية فانهم جبوا من شعبهم
الذى قدروا عليه وبقيت عليهم جملة فاخرجوا الانية الفضة الذى لهم ورهنوها
عند واحد من المسلمين فقيه يقال له الفقيه نصر على مايتى دينار بمايتى وخمسين
دينار واوردوها واما القبط فانهم جحفوا بالناس غاية الاجحاف ولم يتصوّر
ان احداً بقى بلا غرامة الا النادر القليل وكان جملة ما حصل لهم الف وماية دينار
وكان بعضهم يرافع بعضاً وصار كل من يريد ان يخفف عن نفسه دخل فى
القضيّة وصار مستخرجاً فاجتمعوا بالوالى ودخلوا فى كل مدخل الى ان جعلوها

الفاً ومايتى دينار ورجعوا الى الذى بقى فقضوه على الكنايس كل كنيسة على قدرها حتى نفدوا الى الديارات البرانية مثل دير * طموه ودير الشمع وغيرها واخذوا منها القطيعه وطلعوا الى القاهرة يسترفدون اهلها فلم يعطيهم احداً منها شيأ فعادوا خايبين لانهم كانوا الذين وقفوا فى امر القسيس داود فى معنى البطركية وما زالوا الى ان وفوا المبلغ المذكور ولم يبيعوا انية ولا ريعاً ولا رهنوا بل انها كانت اياما شديدة وكثير من الكنايس اغلقت اياما كثيرة بسبب هذه القطيعه وكان قد استخدم من القاهرة ومصر عشرة الف راجل وسيروا وكان اكثرهم مغاربة فهدموا كل كنيسة وجدوها فى طريقهم الى ان وصلوا الى المعسكر وكان الزحف قد ترتب ان يكون يوم الزيتونه فزحفوا الى الفرنج فقتل اكثر اوليك الرجاله الذين هدموا الكنايس والذى سلم من القتل خرج ووصلت منهم جماعة الى القاهرة ومصر مراكب مملوه ثم زحفوا زحفة اخرى ولم ينالوا غرضاً لان الفرنج كانوا عملوا عليهم خندقا من البرين وجسرين فى البحر وعملوا على الخندق ابراجاً وبتاتى مثل سور المدينة وجعلوا خلفه الرماه والمقاتلة فصاروا لا يقدر احد يدنوا منهم ثم اجمع راى المسلمين على سد بحر الشرق من عند زفيتا وان يتحامل الماء جميعه الى بحر الغرب وشرعوا فى ذلك وأخذوا له المراكب والعدد والالآت وتكامل سده فى نهار الجمعه الخامس عشر من بشنس سنة خمس وثلثين وتسع مايه بعد كلفة عظيمة وغرامة كثيرة الا انه صار طريقاً ولم ترجع المراكب تصعد فيه ولا تنحدر وانقطع فى ليلته وضاع كلما غرم عليه وذكر انه كان غرم عليه سبعة عشر الف دينار وتحامل الماء موضعه ويئس من سدّه ثانية فترك بحاله وهدم القدس الشريف فى برموده من السنة المقدم ذكرها بعد ان اخلى من اهله ولم يبق به سوى القيامة المقدسة وبرج داود ومسجد الصخرة والجامع المعروف بالاقصى وهدم باقيه اسواره ودوره وفنادقه ووقع على الناس بسبب هدمه خوف عظيم وقلق للشام من اجله وعلا السعر فيه فاما ديار مصر فكان السعر فيها رخيصاً فى طول هذه الايام ثم ان الافرنج هيأوا مرمات عظيمة وابراجاً كباراً وزحفوا الى دمياط براً وبحراً سبعة ايام متوالية فى العشر الاوسط من ابيب وزحفت المسلمون اليهم وبقوا فى القتال ليلا ونهاراً ثم ان الافرنج اخروا الاتهم عن دمياط فرجع المسلمون

٣٠٠ (ظ)

الى منزلهم وبقى الامر على ما هو عليه وقد كانوا قبل ذلك شغبوا بكنيسة القديس
مرقص التى بظاهر الاسكندريه المعروفة بالقمحا وتقدم الامر بهدمها فبذل
النصارى فى ابقايها الفى ديناراً ولم تقبل وقيل لا بد من هدمها * فان هذه ٣٠١ (ج)
اذية على الثغر لانها ترصع برجاً عليه ويقاتل العدو الثغر منها اذا نزل عليه فهدم
منها اكثرها بامر السلطنة حتى لم يبق منها سوى قامة واحدة فلما كان فى يوم
الجمعة الذى يتلو هدمها صلا المسلمون صلاة الجمعة وخرجوا اليها فهدموا
باقيها الى الارض وكان حزناً عظيما على الطايفة وكآابة متواتره وشدة متظاهرة
وكان ذلك فى اوايل ابيب ثم ان الماء تأخر فى هذه السنة حتى جآء اخر ابيب
وهو فى ستة ادرع وتزيد سعر القمح الى ان بلغ ستين دينار المااية اردب . ثم
ان النيل بقى متوقفا والسعر ياخذ ويعطى ولما كان فى يوم الخميس سادس النسى
لانها كانت سنة كبيس زحفت الافرنج الى المسلمين برا وبحراً فانكسروا قدامهم
وكان الفرنج تظن ان الماء الذى فى خندق المسلمين حلو . فلما وصلوا الى
الخندق المذكور من جانب الرمل وهو موضع بعيد من البحر ذاقوا المآء فوجدوه
مالحاً فرجعوا على اثرهم من ذاتهم من غير ان يكسرهم احد فلما راهم المسلمون
قد رجعوا تبعوهم وطمعوا فيهم فصارت عليهم كسرة عظيمة فاخذ من خيالتهم
زهآ اربع مايه فارس منهم جماعة اكناد ومقدمون وقتل من الرجال والاطراف
ما مقدره الفا نفس ووردت البطايق بذلك وطيرت الطيور وزينت القاهرة ومصر
وفرح المسلمون بذلك فرحاً عظيما .·. ودخلت سنة ست وثلثين وتسع ماية
للشهدآء وكان النيل مقصراً وغاية ما انتهى اليه خمسة عشر دراعاً ولم يثبت عليها
بل نقص وتواتر نقصه وفتح خليج القاهرة المحروسة فى يوم الخميس الرابع عشر
من توت ونشف فى يوم الخميس الذى يتلوه ومشى الناس فى وسطه وفتح
بحر ابى المنجا يوم الاحد الذى هو عيد الصليب المقدس فنقص المآء يومئذ
ذراعاً كاملا ولم ينتفع به ولا روى فى بركة الحبش الا خلجان واما ارض
الطباله فلم يشرب اصلا ولم يرو من البلاد فى هذه السنة الا القليل مثل الفيوم
وكورة البوصيريه والدنجاويه والبشمور وما جرى مجراها من بلاد الغربيه
وحمل اكثر الاسرى الذين اخذوا فى هذه الكسرة الى القاهرة المحروسة وشقت
المدينة بهم وابقى منهم المقدمون بالعسكر ليتحدوا فى الصلح فمشوا فيه حتى

كاد يتقرر على ان ياخذوا القدس بعد ان يعمر لهم وجميع ما كان فى ايديهم مما فتحه الملك الناصر وبقى الامر متردداً بينهم . * وارتفع سعر الغلة حتى بيع القمح بدينارين ونصف الاردب وكان لا يقدر عليه الا بالغاية ثم وردت الاخبار بان النجدات قد وصلت الى الافرنج وان الصلح قد انتقض وجآ امر السلطان باخراج كل من بالقاهرة ومصر للغزاه وضربت الاجراس بذلك وخرج اكثر الناس على وجوههم واغلق البلدان ورجع سعر القمح انحل لاجل اشتغال الناس بنفوسهم حتى بلغ دينار واحد ونصف كل اردب ودينار وربع ولم يجد من يشتريه وكانت شدة عظيمة وضايقة شديدة الا ان الذمه لم يكونوا تعرضوا لهم فى الاول فلما كان بعد ذلك امسك والى القاهرة النصارى وعلقهم على ابواب دورهم وادارهم فى الطواحين وقال لهم اريد منكم المال واخذ منهم ما يطيقون وما لا يطيقون حتى انهم يذكرون الحاكه وحدهم من النصارى بالقاهرة قاموا بالف وثلثماية ديناراً واشتد الامر على الناس فاما والى مصر فلما راى ما فعله والى القاهرة احضر قسا النصارى وقال لهم انتم قد سمعتم ما عمله والى القاهرة وانا اشير عليكم ان تجمعوا مع بعضكم بعض وتجمعوا بينكم الف دينار وتحضروها والا انا استخرجها وما اخذها الا خمسة الف فشكوا اليه وتضرروا فقررها ثمان ماية دينار وخرجوا قعدوا فى الكنايس وشرعوا فى الاستخراج وكانت ايام صعبه على العالم اجمع ومن جملة ما جرى فيها ان السلطان كان فى اثناء ما ذكرناه قد زحف الى الافرنج ونزل على كنف خندقهم من بر الغرب ونزل الملك الفايز على كنف خندقهم من بر الشرق وضايقوهم من البرين وسير السلطان الى المدينتين يطلب الجرار الفرغ وكل اوانى الفخار الفارغة ليملاها رملا ويردم بها الخندق ونودى فى مصر بذلك واجتمع على ساحل البحر من الجرار والقدور الاف لا تحصى وأحضر معظمها الى المعسكر فرجعوا تحدثوا فى الصلح فاذعن اليه الافرنج بعض الاذعان حتى رجع الملكان عن خندقهما من البرين ثم عادوا هم وسعوا الخنادق وقووا الابراج فامتنعوا من الصلح فاغتاظ الملك وسير اخاه الملك الفايز الى الشرق يطلب النجدات وألبسه الحداد وسفره على التخت وانقسم عسكر الافرنج قسمين قسم يزحف الى دمياط بالنوبه ليلا ونهارا وقسم يحفظ جهة الخندق مقابل عسكر المسلمون ولم يزل الحال على ذلك ياخذ ويعطى

٣٠١ (ظ)

٣٠٢ (ج) والاخبار تتواتر * بان الثغر قد ضعف ومات اكثر من فيه فرتب السلطان سبع ماية راجل مقاتله وانفق فيهم وقرر معهم ان يهجموا هجمة واحدة ليلا ويدخلوا حميه الى الثغر ففعلوا ذلك فقتل اكثرهم والقليل منهم سلموا وعبروا فما كان بعد عبورهم الا بليلة او ليلتين حتّى فتح الافرنج ثغر دمياط فى ليلة يسفر صباحها عن نهار يوم الثلثا الثامن من هتور سنة ست وثلثين وتسع مايه المقدم ذكرها الموافق للخامس والعشرين من شعبان سنة ست عشره وستماية وكانت ليلة عظيمة ويوماً مشهوداً ولم يشعر المسلمون بذلك حتّى راوا اعلام الافرنج والصلبان على الابراج والمرقب فعند ذلك علموا ان الثغر قد اخذ فرحل ملوك المسلمين لوقتهم وتركوا التجار والعوام فى المنزله فصار الانسان منهم ما همه الا ان ينجوا بنفسه وتركوا كل اموالهم وبضايعهم فضاع فى هذه النوبة ايضاً من الاموال ما لا يحصى وجآء السلطان فنزل مقابل طلخا على راس بحر اشموم من القبلة واما الملك المعظم صاحب الشام فتوجه الى بلاده ونزل على غزه واختلف القول فى فتح الثغر فقوم قالوا ما فتح الا مخامره من اهله لما وقعوا فيه من الشدة وقوم قالوا ما فتح الا بالسيف عنوه وقيل انهم وجدوا فيه من الاموال الذهب والفضه قناطير مقنطره فاما الاسلحه والزرد هى من الملوك والامرا والاجناد كان قد جعل كلما يعز عليه فيها اعنى دمياط لانها كانت حصينة جداً وما ظن احد انها توخذ وقيل انهم وجدوا بها ستة الف رجل وقيل احد عشر الفاً الا انهم اسروا كل من وجدوه بها ما خلا النصارى. واما المسلمون فكانوا يقولون انه لم يبق بها سوى ستماية نفس ولم يصح ذلك وذكر المحققون ان باب الثغر اغلق على ستة واربعين الف رجل خارجاً عن النسا والصغار واستوطن الافرنج الثغر واستقرت قاعدتهم فيه فلما كان بعد رواح الملك المعظم سير السلطان استدعى الصاحب صفى الدين عبد الله بن على الذى كان وزير ابيه وقلده تدبير مملكته فنفذ هذا بالحوطه على جماعة من الكتاب مسلمين ونصارى ويهود وبسط عليهم العقوبات وطالبهم بالاموال وامتلات الحبوس منهم ومنهم من خرج عن مذهبه من الشدة والعقوبة ومنهم

٣٠٢ (ظ) من عطبت بعض اعضايه وكانت ايام صعبه * جدا وفى اثناء ذلك صقعوا رباع الناس واملاكهم بالقاهرة ومصر واستادوا اجرتها الشهرين وكانت ايام

شديدة على الناس ولا يخرجون من شى حتى يدخلون فما هو اشد منه وبطلوا
ادور الوكالات جميعاً وكل الفنادق التى تباع فيها البضايع مثل الكتان وغيره
ورسم ان لا يباع شى الا بدار وكالة السلطان التى بدار الملك وان تكون السمسرة
للسلطان ونظروا فى اوراق الناس وفيما بايديهم وضاق الوقت على العالم ولو
مكنوا من الخروج لم يبق فى البلاد احد واما الافرنج فكانت ترد اخبارهم من
العدل والرافة وحسن المعاملة ما لا يوصف وبلغت الدراهم السودا عندهمماية
درهم بدينار لكثرة ما وجدوه منها بالثغر وكونهم لا يتعاملون بها ولما كان فى
نهار يوم الثلثا السادس عشر من امشير فى الجمعة الثانية من الصوم المقدس
حدثت امطار عظيمه واستمرت ليلة الاربعا ويوم الاربعا ونصف ليلة الخميس
وفى النصف الثانى خرجت ريح عظيمة ولم يزل الى الظهر من يوم الخميس
وهدمت مواضع كثيرة وكثيرون ماتوا تحت الردم وكانت حادثة عجيبة لم يشاهد
مثلها ثم بعد ذلك خرج الامر بجبايه الدياريه التى كان البطرك يستأديها من الكراسى
والكنايس وندب فى كل عمل واحد لذلك وكتب الى والى مصر والقاهرة بجباية
ما يخصمها فاحضر والى مصر قسا الكنايس وقال لهم اعطونا ما كان ياخذه
البطرك منكم فقالوا ما جرت عادة القاهرة ومصر ان يوخذ منها شى قال فاكتبوا
لنا حججا بانكم ما قمتم قط للبطرك بشى فابتدر واحد منهم وقال يا مولاى
نحضر تعليق البطرك ومن يضمن باسمه شيأ قام به قال واين تعليق البطرك
قالوا هو عند بن صدقه يعنون المقدم ذكره فاحضره وقال اريد تعليق البطرك
فاحضره لوقته وكان تعليقاً قديماً وفيه اشيا عتيقة قبل الغلا واشيآ ما كان البطرك
يستأديها بل كان ذكرها فى التعليق حفظاً لمبلغها فنقلوه كهيئة وسيروا نسخته
الى السلطان فخرج امره الى الولاه باستيدا ما تضمنه فصار كل منهم يقصد
الاستظهار والتبرير على الاخر فيستخرج المبلغ مضاعفاً وكانت هذه الايام
كلها ما روى فى العمر اصعب منها وندب لاستخراج مال الدياريه والتصقيع
وسدس ثمن تمرة البساتين بالوجه القبلى لانهم كانوا اوجبوا ذلك فى جميع
ديار مصر ونقط النخل ايضا عن كل نخله خمسة دراهم * خارجا عن الخراج ٣٠٣ (ج)
الجارى به العادة وكان امير يقال له المكرم بن اللمطى وكان رجلا مغربياً
وابغض ما اليه النصارى فوصل الى مصر وامسك بها جماعة ممن هو منهم

بحبال من النصارى واليهود وعلق عليهم العقوبة والهوان الى ان اخذ خطوطهم
بما مبلغه احد عشر الف دينار كل منهم على قدر ما قطع عليه وسيرها على كتابه
الى السلطان فاكبر ذلك وانكره ورسم بان تعاد الخطوط على اربابها وكانت
هذه نادره لم يجر مثلها فى هذه الايام فاعيدت الخطوط وتوجه بن اللمطى الى
الصعيد لجباية التصقيع والدياريه وسدس ثمن الثمار ونقط النخل عن كل نخله
قايمة خمسة دراهم وكان ذلك فى جميع الديار المصرية واستمر الحال على ذلك
وزادت الشدة على الناس حتى ان جماعة شنقوا انفسهم وجماعة خرجوا من
الايمان ولم يفدهم ذلك .

ثم لما كان فى جمعة الفصح المقدس وكان ذلك اخر برمهات ورد على الارض
من الجراد شيء لم ير قط فى الديار المصرية مثله حتى انه ملآ الفضاء وستر السماء
ورعى كل خضرا وخاف الناس من ذلك وعلموا انها ضربة من الله لتواتر
الظلم واعلى كل شيء حتى كاد يعدم وفى ليلة الاثنين الذى هو صبيحة حد
الحدود الموافق للحادى عشر من برموده جات ريح سودآ ظن الناس
انها القيامة قد قامت وظنوا انه لا يبقى على الارض جدار قايم ووقع من النخل
شى كثير وظهرت نيران فى الجو وكانت ليلة عظيمة لم ينم احد فيها ولما اصبحوا
سكن ذلك الهيج والاضطراب ووجدوا بعض المواضع وقعت وبعضها سالمه
وبقى الطلب والمصادره على حالها والاساقفة فى التوكيل والضرب ونصارى
البلاد كذلك ودخلت سنة سبع وثلاثين وتسع مايه وانتهى النيل فى هذه السنة
المباركة الى اصبعين من سبعة عشر ذراعا وهى سنة سبع وثلاثين وتسع مايه
الموافقه لسنة سبع عشره وستمايه للهجرة الاسلاميه وبقيت الاسعار على حالها
تاخذ وتعطى القمح العال الغايه بماية وخمسين دينار الماية اردب والشعير والفول
بماية دينار الماية اردب واما الحمص فكان قليلا بدينارين الاردب وروى فى
البلاد اكثر مما روى فى العام الماضى وكانت التقاوى قد نفذت لاجل حاجة
الناس وخوفهم فامر بان يوخذ غلال التجار ويقوى بها البلاد ويكتب على
الاجناد ونوابهم حجج بالثمن الى زمن الميسور ففعلوا ذلك فى القاهرة ومصر
٣٠٣ (ظ) * وجميع الديار المصرية حتى صاروا يدخلون الى بيت الواحد يجدون فيه
قمحا ولو ويبه فياخذونه ويتركونه بلا شى ولما زرعوا ارسل الله فى اواخر

بابه وهتور جرادا لم ير قط فى الديار المصريه مثله من كثرته وعظمه وكان احمر وقد كان الذى جا فى السنة الخارجة اصفر فرعى اكثر ما زرع وطلع وخصوصا المواضع التى حول المدينتين والفيوم ثم ان السعر تحرك فى طوبه فبلغ القمح ماية درهم الاردب والشعير والفول ستين درهم الاردب وقلت الغله من ايدى الناس وكثر القحط وازداد الفقرا من الناس والمساكين والسايلون على الابواب واما امر العدو فى طول هذه المدة فكان على حال واحد تارة يخرج اسطول المسلمين فى البحر فتصادف لهم مراكب زاد ونجده فياخذها وتارة يخرجون هم الى بعض الثغور والاطراف المصرية او الشامية فينهبون وياسرون ويرجعون واشتدت البلية من الغلا والخوف والظلم وبلغ الزيت الطيب ثلثة دراهم الرطل والكنيسة بلا من يسوسها ولا من يدبرها ثم تزيد السعر ايضاً الى ان بلغ القمح ثلثة دنانير الاردب ولم يزل كذلك الى عيد الفصح فانحل واستبشر الناس ولم يزل ينحط الى ان بلغ دينار واحد الاردب القمح والشعير والفول بنصف دينار الاردب ووردت الاخبار بخروج ملك من الشرق يقال له ملك الصين ومعه خلق من الاتراك القطا والقفجق وانه كسر خوارزم شاه ملك الفرس وفتح خوارزم وبخارا والمراغه ومدناً كثيرة من بلاد العجم وسبى اهلها ووصل الى الكرج فكسرهم وجا الى ارض اربل وخافت البلاد منه لانه ذكر ان معه آلافا جملة من الاجناد والخلايق ماية الف او يزيدون ووصل الملك الاشرف بن الملك العادل صاحب خلاط وميا فارقين وحران وسنجار وما مع ذلك الى ارض الموصل وقصد العدوّ المذكور هو صاحب اربل فوجدوه قد وصل الى شهرور فلم يلقهم بل رجع على اثره من غير قتال ولا كسرة فرجع الملك الاشرف الى حران وسار اليه اخوه الملك المعظم صاحب الشام واجتمعا هناك وجمع العساكر وجيشا الجيوش وقصدا مصر لنصرة اخيهما الملك الكامل على عدوه الذين هم الافرنج ملاك دمياط وكانت الافرنج قد وصلت اليهم ايضا نجده من داخل البحر فجمعوا وحشدوا وخرجوا من دمياط براً وبحراً متمهلين متنقلين من منزلة الى منزلة الى ان وصلوا قبالة منزلة المسلمين على رأس بحر اشموم من الشمال وبقى البحر فاصلا بينهم وانزعجت البلاد لخروجهم وسير السلطان بسفر المسلمين * للخروج ٣٠٤ (ج) للقايهم فجمعهم الولاه وقرروا على كل سوق جماعة من الرجال ينفقون فيهم

ويخرجونهم وجبوا اكثر ذلك وسيروا عدة لها كثرة ومبغة وفى اثنا ذلك سير السلطان الامير حسام الدين يونس والى الاسكندريه كان الى القاهرة ومصر لاخراج من بهما قاطبة وسير الى كل عمل اميراً يفعل فيه كذلك وخرج عامة الناس واكثرهم حتى لم يبق الا شيخ فان او صبى لم يبلغ الحلم واغلقت المدينتان فى نهار يوم الاحد الثامن عشر من جمادى الاخره سنة ثمانى عشرة وستماية الموافق للخامس عشر من مسرى واصبحت يوم الاثنين باقية مغلقة حتى لم يوجد شى يوكل ولا تتعامل الناس فى هذين اليومين الا الاجراس تضرب فى البلدين معاشر المسلمين كافة من بات فى هذه الليلة فى المدينة شنق والولاه ركاب يهجمون على الناس بيوتهم ويخرجونهم منها ومن وجدوه لم يسافر غرز واحرق به حتى لم يبق الا النساء وكانت اياما ما شوهد مثلها من الخوف والضنك والهجاج على الناس قاطبة وكانت ايام النيل الا انه لم يعنى به احد ولا يطلع اليه ثم وصل الملك المعظم سلطان الشام والملك الاشرف سلطان الشرق ومن معهما من الملوك مثل صاحب حمص وصاحب حماه والعساكر والجيوش وعدوا من اشموم وقاطعوا على الافرنج وصاروا بينهم وبين دمياط براً وخرج اسطول المسلمين من فم بحر المحله البحرى وقطع بين مراكب الافرنج وبين الثغر فصاروا لا يصل اليهم ميره لا براً ولا بحراً ولا يجيهم خبر عن دمياط ولا يجيها عنهم خبرا واستمروا على ذلك اياما والمسلمون كلما مروا فى قوه وهم كلما مروا فى ضعف وفرغت ازوادهم وعاينوا الهلاك فاجمعوا امرهم فى ليلة صبيحتها الجمعه رابع النسى على ان يوقدوا النيران ويتركوا بعض الخيام التى لا حاجة لهم بها ويرحلوا ويصدموا العسكر الذى بينهم وبين دمياط فانه لا تقوى بهم ويتلاقوا بالثغر ويحفظوا الجدار فانهم اذا حفظوه لم ينتفعوا فوشى بهم الى السلطان فى ليلتهم فركب وركبت العساكر وكان زمان النيل وهم اغرارا بالبلاد فامر السلطان بفتح الترع الذى فى طرقهم وكسر الجسور وبحريتها من كل جانب وهم يتحاملون الى ان وصلوا البرمون فرأوا انفسهم فى وسط الطوفان لا مسلك لهم فاجتمعوا فى موضع واحد واشتد القتال بقية ليلة الجمعة ويوم الجمعة وليلة السبت الى ان تضحى نهار السبت والرسل تردد والسلطان يضرب الراى مع الجماعة ويعرفهم ان هذه الجماعة من الافرنج * هالكة ٣٠٤ (ظ)

الا انها لا تهلك حتى تهلك مثلها من المسلمين ثم لا يسلم دمياط ابدا لانه كان بها تسعون الف مقاتل خارجاً عمن خرج وقد عملوا عليها سبعة خنادق ويضعف الناس عن نظرها فضلا عن النزول عليها لانهم لا يفنون هذه الشريدمة حتى تفنى اضعافها فاجتمع رايهم على الصلح وترددت الرسل بينهم وتقرر الصلح على ان يسلموا دمياط وترد كل فئة ما عندها من اسرى الاخرى من قديم الزمان والى الان وتقرر الصلح ثمان سنين ونزل الملك والملكان والمقدمين عند السلطان الى ان تسلموا دمياط واخذوا الفرنج عندهم رهاين عليهم خشية من ان يغدروا بهم الملك الصالح ابن السلطان وقطب الدين اخاه وشمس الدين بن اخته وجماعة من اكابر الامراء فتركوهم فى مركب برا البحر المالح واحسن السلطان الى الملك والذين معه احساناً ما روى مثله وقام لهم بكلما يحتاجونه واكرمهم كرامة عظيمة وامر بأن يحمل الى معسكرهم من الخبز والرمان والبطيخ ما لا يحصى وامر الناس ان يعبروا الى وطاقهم ويبايعوهم ويشاروهم فصار مخيمهم كانه سوق من اسواق المسلمين وباعوا واشتروا وفرح السلطان والمسلمون فرحاً عظيما لانهم كانوا مترقبين انهم مغلوبون وان البلاد قد خرجت من ايديهم وقد كانوا اعطوا القدس والساحل وقطيعة اخرى فداء لدمياط فما فعل الافرنج واعطوها هكذى فكان موضع السرور والغبطه لهم ودخلت سنة ثمان وثلثين وتسع مايه وفى اثنا هذا وصلت خمسة واربعين شينيا من عسكر الانبرور الذى كان جانباً فى النجده الى دمياط فلما سمعوا ما جرى من الهدنه وان الملوك رهاين رجعوا واخذ السلطان يجهز الافرنج للرواح فمنهم من راح فى البحر فاعطاهم الازواد والاقامات وجهز معهم اخاه صاحب قلعة جعبر حتى سيرهم ومنهم من مد لهم الجسور الى بر الغرب حتى عبروا سايرين الى دمياط لان بر الشرق ما كان يحلقهم والمرمه العظيمه التى لهم ومراكبهم حولها محاذيه لهم فى البحر وما زالوا اياما حتى وصلوا وسافر اكثرهم وخرج من بقى بدمياط الى اجرمها وسلمت دمياط فى العشر الاول من توت وسار السلطان اليها هو والعساكر وبقى بها الى ان سافر بقية الافرنج وودع الملوك الافرنجيه من البحر وعاد الى اشموم وبقى بها الى ان ودع اخوته وعساكر الشام والشرق وعاد الى القاهره فعبر اليها فى نهار يوم الجمعه الثامن من شهر رمضان

سنة ثمان عشرة وستمايه وكان عبوره يوماً ما شهد وزينت المدينتان زينة ما روى
٣٠٥ (ج) مثلها وفرح الناس * وامنوا وبلغ النيل فى هذه السنة الى . . . . [١]
وصارت بين السلطان وبين ملك عكا صداقة عظيمة اكيده والهدايا تحمل من
هذا الى هذا وتزاحمت الظنون فقوماً قالوا انه كان مخامراً وانه الذى فعل
بالفرنج هذه الفعله وقوم قالوا ما كان عن رضاه وانما اللكات الذى اشار
بالخروج وما امكنه ان يخالفه ليلا ينسبه الى المخامره ولقد قال له ينبغى ان
لا نخرج من بلدنا هذا يعنى دمياط حتى يأتى تحدثنا الامبرور ويحق اذا بقينا
ورا خنادقنا الف سنه ما نلتفت لاحد ولو جآء عدد الرمل وهذه العساكر التى
تسمع بها فما يثبتوا عندنا لان ما فيهم الا وراه شغل وله عدو فغايتهم ان ينزلوا
علينا شهراً اثنين ثلاثة فلا ينالون منا طايلا فيرجع كل واحد الى موضعه
فنقوى نحن وتقوى عزايمنا ويقل عدونا وتضعف نفسه واذا ملكنا مصر فى
عشرين سنة نكون قد استعجلنا فما قبل منه بل قال انت مخامر قال انا اخرج
معك وارادة الربّ تكون فخرجوا حتى جا واشار مساح فقال له ينبغى ان تقيم
ها هنا هذه السنة ونحفر علينا خندقا ونزرع من هنا الى دمياط ومراكبنا تجينا
والطير ما يقدر يطير بيننا وبين دمياط فاذا انفض هذا الجمع وجات نجدتنا
كانت مصر قدامنا فى يومين بلا مانع فقال انت مخامر ما اخذ مصر الا فى هذه
الايام فصاروا حتى بلغوا مقابل فم بحر المحله الذى قدام البرمون الذى خرجت
منه مراكب المسلمين فقال له هذا البحر ما علينا اضر منه اعطنى هذه المركب
الكبير الذى معك نحطه فى فم هذا البحر ونجعل معه عشر شوانى تمنع الهواء
يعبر من هنا ونأمن شره فقال وحق دينى ما احط هذه الصلبان التى على رأس
هذا الصارى الا على سور القاهرة قال له سروسوف نرى ما يجرى وانه لولم يكن
فعل ذلك كانت الافرنج قد اهلكته ثم خرج السلطان الى ابيار اقام بها مدة الصيف
ثم انحدر الى دمياط وامر بان يعمل جسراً على برالبحيرة من بوره الى البحر المالح يمنع
ماء البحر ان يفيض على البحيره ووظف على الامرا والاجناد كل صاحب الف دينار
حراقتين ففعلوا ذلك وفرغ الجسر ثم شرع فى عمارة بر الجيزه قلعة حوالى النيل وجعل

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[١] بياض بالأصل .

فيها احد عشر برجاً وطرح الابراج على الامرا على قدر قوتهم فنهم من طرح
عليه برجاً بمفرده ومنهم اثنان فى برج واخرون ثلثه وأربعة فى برج ودخلت
سنة تسع وثلثين وتسع مايه للشهدا الاطهار * وانتهى النيل فى هذه السنة ٣٠٥ (ظ)
الى سبعة اصابع من ثمانية عشر ذراعاً ورخصت الاسعار وطابت الديار وفى
هذه السنة وصل الملك الاشرف سلطان الشرق الى ديار مصر على سبيل الفرجه
والخدمة لاخيه السلطان الملك الكامل وتلقوه بالضيافات والاقامات من الرمل
وعبر الى القاهرة فى يوم الخميس العاشر من طوبه من هذه السنة وقد زينت
زينة ما روى مثلها وكان هذا اليوم من ايامها العظيمة المشهوده وتردد الملك
الاشرف فى الديار المصرية من القاهرة الى الخرقانيه الى اشموم الى ابيار الى جزيرة
مصر وكان نزوله بالجزيره فى ايام النيل المبارك وكانت النيران توقد فى كل ليلة
بحمله من الشمع والزيت وكان اهتماما ما شوهد مثله فأما ليلة خلوق المقياس
فزادوا على وقود الزيت وقيد اطواف خشب وجدروها فى البحر ووقود
العشاريه والحراريق وبفرشها فى وسط البحر وكانت ايام كلها اعياد ورخصت
الاسعار الى الغايه حتى بيع القمح بثلثين دينار المابة اردب والشعير والفول
بعشرين دينار المابة اردب والخبز عشرة ارطال بدرهم واللحم بنصف وثمن
درهم الرطل والفراريخ بخمسة دراهم العشره ولم يكن شيا غالى وكان البرسيم ايام
زيادة النيل بخمسة وعشرين درهما الاردب ولما نقص النيل بيع البعلى بستة
وستين درهما الاردب والحراتى بأربعة وخمسين درهما الاردب وهو شى عجيب
لان النيل ما كان بالعالى الا انها امور بيد الله تعالى وتحدث بعض الاراخنه مع
الصاحب الوزير فى اقامة البطرك فرسم بان يطلب الحبيس الذى بابيار وان يقام
عنه بخمس مابة دينار لبيت المال وشرعوا فى طلب المبلغ المذكور وتقسيطه على
الكنايس فلم يقدر عليه ولا مشى فيه حال فوقفت القضية وانقطع الحديث
وسافر الملك الاشرف من مناظر سيف الاسلام التى على بركة الفيل فى نهار
السبت الحادى عشر من شعبان سنة عشرين وسمايه الموافق الحادى عشر من
توت وخرج السلطان الملك الكامل لوداعه وكانت المصادرات على حالها
والجيوش ملأى من الكتاب واصحاب الدواوين والوزير لا يعرف الا شيا يحصله
للسلطان من كل وجه ودخلت سنة اربعين وتسع مايه وبلغ النيل فى هذه

السنة الى اثنا عشر اصبعا من سبعة عشر ذراعاً وكانت الاسعار رخيصه والاشيا
كثيرة موجوده والدنيا هاديه من الفتن ولم يكن شيا غاليا الا الذهب والشمع
فان الصرف بلغ ثلثه واربعين درهماً بدينار * والشمع ثمانية دراهم ونصف الرطل ٣٠٦ (ج)
وبقى الحال على ما هو عليه وفى اخر كيهك فى هذه السنه وردت الاخبار ان
الملك المسعود صاحب اليمن ابن السلطان الملك الكامل واصل الى الديار المصريه
وانه بلغ عيذاب فاخرج السلطان ابنه الملك الصالح وابن اخيه الملك المظفر
تقى الدين وابن اخيه شمس الملوك ابن الملك الاعز بن صلاح الدين ومن معهم
من الامرا والاجناد لتلقيه فلقوه قريبا من قوص ثم وصل الى القاهره فى امشير
من السنة المذكورة بتحمل عظيم وهدايا كثيرة واموال جمه ومن حمله ما وصل
معه من العجايب ثلثة افيال منهم اثنان لم ير قط اعظم منهما مثل الجزاير العظام
وذكر ان عمر كل منهما دون العشرين سنة واخر صغير عمره ثمان سنين وذكر
المشايخ وارباب التواريخ انه لم يرد قط الى البلاد اعظم منهم وكان عبوره
يوماً مشهودا وقد كان سيّر قبل ذلك عسكر الى خدمته الى الحجاز مع ابن عمه
الملك الجواد مظفر الدين ابن مودور فخالفهم فى الطريق فمضى اوليك الى
الينبع وهى قلعة منيعة من بلاد الحجاز وكانت ممتنعة على الملك المسعود قد اجتمع
بها جماعة وقد عصت عليه ففتحوها بالسيف وسبوا كل من بها وتركوا بها
خليفة لهم ورجعوا وبقى الملك المسعود بالقاهرة نازلا بالقصر والاحوال مستقرة
على ما هى عليه والصاحب صفى الدين الامر كله فى يديه والاسعار بحالها فى
طول السنة وزاد رخص الاشيا وبلغ النيل فى هذه السنة الى اربع اصابع من
ثمانى عشر ذراعاً ثم دخلت سنة احدى واربعين وتسع مايه والسلطان الملك
الكامل مقيم بقلعته المعموره بالقاهرة والملك المسعود مقيم ايضاً والصاحب
ابن شكر الحاكم فى الامور مستقلا والبيعة بغير بطرك والاسعار بحالها فلما كان
فى اثناء السنة بلغ السلطان من بعض الناس عن بعض الامرا أمر يوهم منه فاعتقل
بعضهم ونفى بعضهم واحتاط على موجودهم واقطع اخبازهم وطالب بعضهم
بمالٍ وفى الصوم المبارك تقدم المستوفيون الى الصاحب وقالوا له انك قد
اصلحت كل شى الا امر النصارى فانهم بغير بطرك وقد استضروا وانحلت
نواميسهم فقال لهم لا بد من شى للسلطان فقرروا معه خمس مابة دينار فكتب

الى السلطان واستاذنه فجاء جوابه بان يختاروا فاختار المستوفيون وجماعة
الرعاع راهباً يقال له بولس البوشى وكان فى ذلك الزمان قد حضر من ديره
* ليتداوى لانه كان بحمى الكبد ووازرهم على ذلك الصاحب واختار بعض ٣٠٦ (ظ)
الناس القس داود بن يوحنا المعروف بابن لقلق ولم يكونوا يجسرون ان يظهروا
ذلك لان القسيس المذكور مشهوراً بانه صاحب الشيخ نش الخلافه بن المنقاط
والشيخ المذكور فهو عدو للصاحب لا يصل له الى دار بالضد من كل من فى
البلاد وكل من سمع انه يسلم عليه فى الطريق قد عمل فى اهلاكه لا سيما من
يكون صديقه وصاحبه فكان كل من يريد القس داود يخفى ذلك ولا يظهره خوفا
من الصاحب وتعذر الحال لبولس البوشى وأنبرم وجات الاساقفة وكتبوا له
محضراً كتب فيه اكثر الناس بالرضى به لاجل نفس الصاحب الى ان وقف
للسلطان قوم لا يعنى بهم وقالوا يا مولانا نحن ما نرضى بهذا البوشى وعندنا
من يصلح سواه فقال ومن هو قالوا داود ابن لقلق ونشتهى من مولانا ان يحضر
الاثنين الى بين يديه ويسمع حديثهما وعلمهما ومن رجحه فقد رضيناه لان
مولانا نايب الله فى ارضه فقرر احضارهما وقد كان الشيخ نش الخلافه تحدث
مع السلطان فى ذلك وقرر القاعده وانتهى الحال فيما بين اصحاب الاثنين الى
ان جعلوا المبلغ الف دينار فاما اصحاب داود فكانوا يقولون انهم يقترضونها
ويدبرونها ولا يكلفون احداً شيا فاما اصحاب بولس فكانوا قد قرروا مع
الصاحب انهم يجبونها من النصارى بالوجهين القبلى والبحرى والناس كافة
فاعتمد السلطان على احضارهما فى يوم معين لانهما كانا فى حيز مصر وان يحضر
بطرك الملكيّة معهما فحضروا جميعاً واحضر السلطان الفقها واجلا الناس
وعبر مع داود اثنان من اصحابه واما بولس فلم يتركوا احداً يعبر معه وخرج
داود مرجحاً الا ان الحال واقف لاجل ما قاله فخر الدين عثمان للسلطان
لاجل عرض الصاحب وصار الناس فيتين ورجعوا الى ما كانوا عليه من البغضة
والتعادى وعمل المحاضر المزوره فى حق القس داود وايصالها الى السلطان الى
ان اوقفوا خاطره فى القضية وضاق الوقت وتدحرجت الايام وجاء العيد
والحال على ما هى عليه وفى اخر هذه السنة توفى الصاحب الوزير ودفن بالقاهرة
فى موضع قريب من داره عمره لنفسه وكان له خروج عظيم وجنازه عظيمة

شهدها كل من حضر من المدينتين وسير السلطان اولاده واقاربه صلوا عليه
ثم دخلت سنة اثنين واربعين وتسع مايه فى شعبان سنة اثنين وعشرين وسمايه
٣٠٧ (ج) * والنيل لم يوف ولا وصل المقرر والاسعار قد تحركت وفى ليلة الاربعاء
السادس من توت كسر الخليج من قبل الوفا سراً ولم يعلم به احداً وشاط سعر
الغلة وطلبها الناس فمنع السلطان احداً ان يبيع منها شيا اصلا ثم وصل المقرر
فى النهار المذكور فاهتدى الناس واملّوا ان المآء يزيد فمادى الحال ونقص
الماء وكانت الغلة فى هذه السنة كثيرة فاستقر السعر القمح العالى الغاية على عشرين
درهم الاردب والشعير ثلثة عشر درهما والفول عشرة دراهم والجميع من هذه
النسبة ولم يغل شى لا لحم ولا غيره وغاية ما انتهى اليه فى هذه السنه ستة عشر
اصبعا من ستة عشر ذراعاً ولم يوف ولا خلق المقياس فى هذه السنة ولا نودى
عليه ثم ان السلطان كثّر تخيله من الأمرا فاعتقل جماعة اخرى ثم قبض على
اولاد الصاحب وغلمانه وعاقبهم وطالبهم بالاموال وكان هذا الوقت وقتا
صعباً لان السلطان طالب الناس بالبواقى وامر بتحريج الاخلاف والمطالبة
بالاموال وهو مقيم بالقلعة المحروسه وابنه صاحب اليمن عنده بالقاهرة وجميع
العساكر بعد ان خرجوا فى اواخر السنة الخارجة الى ظاهر القاهرة وخيموا
اياماً ولبسوا كلهم العدد والتشاهير وعرضوا كل امير يطلبه وكان يوماً مشهوداً
لم ير مثله ثم امرهم ان لا يخرج احد منهم الى الريف ولا يزالوا بالقاهرة لا صغير
منهم ولا كبير وكان الذهب فى طول هذه الايام لا يقدر عليه حتى ان الصرف
بلغ الى اربعة واربعين درهماً ونصف بدينار واستمر كذلك ورسم السلطان
ان يفتح دار ضرب بالقلعه ودار اخرى بمصر مع الدار التى بالقاهرة ففتحت
الدار التى بالقلعه وضربت بها دراهم مدوره وغلا الذهب بالكليه الى ان كاد
يعدم وبيعت الدراهم خمسين درهماً بدينار واقله سبعة واربعين درهما بدينار ثم
خرجت الدراهم المذكورة وامر ببيعها سبعة وثلثين درهماً بدينار وان يكون
العتق اثنين واربعين درهما بدينار وكان الناس فى هذا الزمان فى ضيق عظيم
وتخبيط والسلطان يطلب الاموال ويجمعها من كل وجه واولاد الصاحب
وغلمانه فى العصر والعقوبة وهم يبيعون ويوردون ثم ان الماء كان قد انتهى الى
ما تقدم ذكره ولم يغلق وانحط الى ثلاثة عشر ذراعا ثم رجع زاد فى اواخر بابه

الى ان بلغ الى اصابع من خمسة عشر ذراعا ثم نقص الى ان عاد الى ثلثة عشر ذراعاً ثم عاد زاد الى ان بلغ ما كان عليه فى الاول * وغرّق كل ما كان قد ٣٠٧ (ظ) زرعه الناس وعاد عبر الخليج وعبرت فيه المراكب فى النصف من هتور بعدما كان قد جف ومشى الناس فيه وتعجب من هذا الامر كل احد وفى هذه الايام اسلم راهب من رهبان دير ابو مقار ووشى بالرهبان عند السلطان وذكر ان فيهم من يحتمى بالرهبنه عن وزن الجاليه وان عندهم حقوقاً ومواريث الديوان ورسم السلطان ان يخرج معه امير من الامرا للكشف عنهم فخرج معه امير يعرف بابن سيروين وصار الى الدياره بوادى هبيب فلم يجعله كشفا بل امسك الرهبان وضربهم وعلقهم وعاقبهم الى ان قطع عليهم ستماية دينار واستخرج منها اربع مائة دينار واحضرها صحبته وقرر معهم ان يحصلوا المايتى الاخرى حتى يعود ياخذها منهم وحمل المبلغ المذكور الى السلطان وهو اربع ماية دينار وقال له انى مضيت الى الدياره وقلت للرهبان احلفوا انه ليس للسلطان عندكم حق فاشتروا يمينهم بستماية دينار وقد احضرت منها اربع ماية دينار والبقية انا احضرها وما انفصلت منهم الا وهم على تحصيلها وحضر من مشايخ الرهبان جماعة ووقفوا للسلطان اعز الله نصره وشكوا له قضيتهم فلما وقف على امرهم امر بان يعاد ما حمل من جهتهم عليهم فاخذوه وجعلوه فى صنية واوقدوا الشمع وداروا به القاهرة كلها وكانت قضية تعجّب منها كل احد وعجيبة ظهرت من اباء الديارات ثم امر بان لا يتعاملوا بالدراهم العتق اصلا بل من كان معه منها شى يمضى به الى الصيرفى وياخذ به ذهباً على حساب خمسة واربعين درهماً بدينار ويرجع يصرف الذهب بدراهم جدد على حساب سبعه وثلثين بدينار وكان هذا بالاسم لان الذهب ما كان نى يقدر عليه وكل من كان معه شى ما كان يقربه وانما هو اسم حتى تحل معاملتهم على مقتضى دينهم لانهم يقولوا ان بيع الفضة بالفضة لا تحل بل حرام وكذلك الذهب بالذهب وكل شى بمثله وكان الناس يتعاملون بها ولكن فى السرّ كل عشرة دراهم عتق يحسبوها بثمانية دراهم وربع جدداً وكل درهم ينقصونه ثلاثة خرايب والدراهم التى تجمع عند الصيرفى تحمل الى القلعه وهى بعينها التى تضرب وتعمل هذا الدراهم المدورة بلا زيادة ولا نقصان وكانت فايدة للسلطان فيها كل الف دينار ماية

خمسة وسبعين دينار وكانت الدار تعمل فى كل يوم مائة الف درهم فايدتها كل
٣٠٨ (ج) يوم بالتقريب خمس ماية دينار * واستمر الحال على ذلك وتوسوس الناس
وانضروا واستغاثوا الى الله تعالى فلم يغثهم وعدم الذهب بالكلية حتى صار
الدينار يدفع فيه خمسين درهما عتقاً فلا يقبل صاحبه يبيعه ولم يوجد من يقربه
وانضر الناس فى هذا اضراراً بيناً لان كل درهم كان مع الناس رجع إلى النصف
والربع ونقص الربع او انشف لا محاله وضربوا بعد ذلك فلوساً وباعوها كل
اربعة فلوس بربع درهم واستبشر الناس بها اكثر من الدراهم الجدد وبقى الناس
على هذه الحال مذبذبين وجات رسل خوارزم شاه ملك الفرس وما علم فى
اى شى جاءوا وفى الصوم المقدس من هذه السنه تحرك اصحاب القسيس داود
لطلب البطركيه له واجتمعوا بانسان رومى تاجر يتردد الى البلاد من عكا وغيرها
وكان اسمه مفرجاً وكان قريباً من السلطان اعز الله نصره ومن الامير فخر الدين
استاذ الدار وجعلوا للسلطان خلد الله ملكه الفى دينار عن تقدمه داود فطلب
منهم الفا معجلة والالف الاخراه حتى تنتجز حال القسمه فاجتمع سبعة انفس
من اصحابه ومضوا الى انسان تاجر يقال له الحلى فادانوا منه الف دينار بالالف
ومايتى دينار الى شهرين وسلموها الى مفرّج وتطاول الحال وسمع اضداد
داود بهذا فتجمعوا وتحربوا وكتبوا الى السلطان بانهم غير راضين وتفاقم الامر
بينهم على جارى العاده واقتبلوا بالالفى دينار وقسطوها على الكنايس والنصارى
على ان داود لا يذكر ورفعوا الامر الى السلطان فلم يقبل بل قال لهم اتفقوا
مع اصحابكم ولم يزل الحال كذلك ورقعة الالف دينار مع مفرج والسلطان
لا يردها ولا ياخذها لانه ينتظر اتفاقهم وفى اثنا هذا قبض على بعض المستوفيين
الذين كانوا يعاندون داود وكان اخر ما تقرر ان تكتب اربعة رقاع من جملتهم
داود ويرفع على الهيكل فمن طلع اسمه قدم الا ان اصحاب داود لم يرضوا
بالقرعة لانهم كانوا يقولون ما عندنا الا صاحبنا ومن هو مثله حتى نقرنه به
وتقارع بينهما وكان التناحر والاحتيال والمنازعة قويا جدا وكان زمانا صعبا
على الناس وخصوصاً الكتاب ولما امسك هولاء المستوفيون اشتغل كل احد
بنفسه ووقف حديث البطركيّه فمنهم من اخذ خطه بعشرة الف دينار ومنهم
من اخذ خطه بخمسة الف دينار واقلهم ثلثة الف دينار وكان الوقت على الناس

كلهم صعباً شديداً وان كان الرخص الا من قبل قساوة قلب السلطان عليهم
وفى هذه المدة وصل * رسول امير المومنين ابى نصر الظاهر بامر الله القايم بعد ٣٠٨ (ظ)
ابيه الناصر لانه توفى فى هذه السنة من بغداد ومعه خلع سنيه سود مذهبه
وحل منها ما هو مفصّل بذهب برسم ركوب السلطان الكبير ولبس السلطان
واولاده الخلع بالعمايم والبس اكابره واكابر الامرا خلعاً دونها من كان منهم
يلبس العمامه اعطاه عمامه ومن كان منهم يلبس شربوشا اعطاه شربوشا وكل
ذلك مما جا من بغداد وكان يوم ذلك يوماً مشهودا ووصل بعد ذلك رسول
ملك الروم صاحب قونيه واقصرا ورسول الكرج ورسل كثيرة من كل جهة
وارجف بعد ذلك بان خوارزم شاه قد كسر عسكر الكرج وفتح تفليس
وايجارا وشاعت بذلك الاخبار وبعد هذا طال على اصحاب القسيس داود المطال
وطالبهم صاحب الالف دينار بها وبربحها لانهم كانوا اخذوها منه الى شهرين
بالف ومايتى دينار فلما تجاوزت الشهرين اعطوه فايدة اخرى فشاوروا السلطان
واستعادوا الالف دينار المذكورة واعادوها الى صاحبها مع ربحها وسكنت
الدهما وانقطع القال والقيل ثم جآ النيل فمد مداً لطيفاً ثم نقص من السادس عشر
من ابيب الى العشرين منه مقدار عشرة اصابع ثم رد النقص وزاد الزيادة
المعهوده وفى هذه الايام وردت الاخبار بان الملك المعظم سلطان الشام قد خرج
من دمشق طالبا الى حماه وانه قد حرك خوارزم شاه على ارض خلاط وهى
ملك الملك الاشرف صاحب الشرق والسلطان صاحب مصر من قبله فامر العساكر
المصرية ان يخرجوا الى ارض القدس والساحل وما يتاخم دمشق ونهبوا وحرقوا
وسبوا فجهزوا لذلك والناس بعد ذلك فى ضايقة وشدة من النقود واختلافها
وقول السلطان لا يتعامل بالنقد العتيق وهو كثير بايدى الناس وايضاً فلبغضهم
فى النقد الجديد لانهم كانوا يخسرون فيه الربع من اموالهم لانهم كانوا يحضرون
الى الصّيارف اوالى دار الضرب خمسة واربعين درهماً عتيقاً فيعطون بها سبعة وثلثين
درهما جديد والقيمة القيمة والعيار العيار فيكون غرامتهم فيه الربع او دونه
والنداء مستمر بانه من تعامل بها احل ماله ودمه ومن وجدت معه احرق به
ونكل والذهب قليل جدا ورسم السلطان ان يكون صرف الدينار بالجديد
اربعين درهما بدينار واذا جا الانسان الى الصيرفى يطلب منه دينارا بدراهم

ولا ياخذ منه الا ثلثه واربعين درهما ونصف جديده والا انكره ان ما عنده
ذهبا اصلا وكان الناس من * هذا الوجه فى شدة شديدة الا ان الاسعار كانت ٣٠٩ (ب)
رخيصه والاشياء موجوده وسببه استيلا الفقر والضعف على الناس واستوديت
الجزيه فى هذه السنة من الذمه دينارين كل راس صرف ثمانيه واربعين درهما
عتق بدينار تقع ماية درهم الجزيه فى القاهرة ومصر فأما البلاد البرانيه فتقع الجزيه
ماية وعشرين درهما وندب من المقام السلطانى قوم يقال لهم الصقعون والكشاف
خرجوا الى الاعمال القبليه والبحريه واحدثوا على الناس حوادث منها انهم
طلبوا منهم حق الجبانات والمقابر وثمن الطوب والحجارة التى بنوا بها بيوتهم
وادعوا ملكية الدور وطالبوهم بالاثبات وقالوا البلاد كلها ملك السلطان وانتم
من اين ملكتم هذه اثبتوا بالشرع والا الكل ملك السلطان وقوموا بالاجرة
منذ سكنتم والى الان واعادوا عليهم المساحات فى الراتب وغيره وزيدوها
عليهم وكثر الرفاعون وانفتحت لهم الابواب وحصل من هذه الجهة جملة
كبيره افقرت الناس جميعهم وكان بمصر رجل يقال له عبد القادر وكان قد
ضمن مكوس الذمه بالقاهرة ومصر وكان عليهم منه ضر عظيم وكان يظلمهم
ظلماً فاحشاً ويقطع مصانفاتهم وياخذ جواريهم ومماليكهم باليد ويودعهم
الحجز ويقول هولاء مسلمون وانتم سمحتم فيهم وغلبهم عليهم فاما نبالغهم
واما يقطع مصانعتهم عليهم وكان ارباب الدوله يساعدونه على ذلك لعلمهم
بنفس الاصل وفى هذه السنة فتح خليج الذكر الذى من قنطرة المقس وخرق
الى خليج القاهرة المعروف بالحاكمى وعمل على فمه سدّ مضافا الى السدّ الجارى
به العاده وفى هذه السنة التقى البحران فى نهار الجمعه السابع من مسرى الموافق
للرابع من شعبان سنة ثلاث وعشرين وسبعماية وكان السعر رخيصاً والاشيا
موجودة الا ان الرزق مقتّر قليل ثم ان السلطان اعز الله نصره عزم على التوجه
الى الشام لخلف وقع بينه وبين اخيه صاحب دمشق ورسم للامراء والاجناد
بتجهيز اشغالهم وقويت الحركة فى ذلك وتجهز الناس بما يقدرون عليه وخرجوا
الى البركه وفى يوم الاربعا السادس والعشرين من مسرى الموافق للثالث والعشرين
من شعبان سنة ثلاث وعشرين وسبعمايه وصل المفرد من الصعيد واخبر بان

النيل وفى به فى . . . . [1]

وكان النيل اذ ذاك فى مصر على اصبع من ستة عشر واصبح فى السابع والعشرين
من مسرى * زاد ثلاثة اصابع وفى الثامن والعشرين ثلاثة اصابع وفى التاسع ٣٠٩ (ظ)
والعشرين اصبع واحد فصار على ثمان اصابع من ستة عشر ذراعاً ثم وقف اخر
مسرى واول النسى وربما اضطرب وفى هذا النهار ورد الخبر بموت الامام
الظاهر ابى نصر محمد الخليفة الجديد وما له اكثر من ستة اشهر وعملت ضحيته
ببركة الحب فى اليوم المذكور وهو يوم الاثنين اول النسى والسلطان راحل
يريد الشام والاسعار رخيصة والاشيا موجوده الا ان الناس ضعاف الى الغاية
والدولة فيها عنف ثم دخلت سنة ثلاث واربعين وتسع مايه للشهداء والماء
متوقف ثم زاد وفتح سد بحراى المنجا الاول فى يوم الثلثا رابع توت وخلق
المقياس فى يوم الاربعا خامسه وفتح الخليج الجارى به العادة فى يوم الخميس
سادسه فاما الخليج المستجد من المقس من الخليج المعروف بخليج الذكر فانه
فتح من مده ثم رد عليه الخليج الحاكمى فعمل له سد عند باب القنطره من
جانب الميدان الذى هناك وتتابعت زيادة النيل الى الرابع عشر من بابه وبلغ
اثنا عشر اصبعاً من ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وكان من عجايب الدنيا لانه ما روى
بل توقف توقفه وجا مجيه ثم انه نزل نزولا مهتدياً من اصبعين ومن ثلثة
ورخصت جميع الاشيا واتفق الملك المعظم صاحب الشام مع الملك الاشرف
صاحب الشرق اخوه السلطان الملك الكامل اعز الله نصره وزال الشنان الذى
بينهم وعاد مولانا الملك الكامل بعسكره من العباسه الى القاهرة المحروسة واستقر
الحال بمملكته الشريفة وبسط العدل على الرعيه وبذل لهم الاحسان وكانت
ايام رخية وخيرات كثيرة ثم وردت الاخبار بخلافة الامام المستنصر ابى جعفر
المنصور ودعى له وضربت السكة باسمه وهو ولد الامام الطاهر ابى نصر محمد
المتوفى وفى هذه الايام تجهز المولى الملك المسعود صاحب اليمن للرواح الى بلاده
وسير اكبر قماشه فى البحر وكان هو ايضا عازماً على الرواح فى البحر ثم رجع
رايه عن ذلك فاخرج خيمته الى البركه وقوى عزمه على السفر فى البر ثم ان

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[1] بياض بالأصل .

السلطان اعز الله نصره صار يتعهد النزول الى مناظر البركه المعروفه بمناظر
سيف الاسلام ويأمر السكان بها بوقودها فى الليالى التى تنزلها ورمى فى البركه
السماريه والحراريق وصار يركب فيها كل ليلة ويدور تحت دورها ويعطى الناس
٣١٠ (ب) ويهبهم الدنانير والدراهم والمطعوم والمشروب والفاكهة وغيرها * ويقرب من
الناس وعادتهم وكانوا الناس يتفننون فيما يعملونه من الوفيد وغيره وكانت
هذه الايام ايام نزه ولهو وطيبة ورخا وامن والسلطان خلد الله ملكه يتردد من
البركة الى الجزيرة ومن الجزيرة الى البركة وكانت ليالى البركة عجيبة مبدعة الى
الغاية وجدّ الملك المسعود على المسير الى اليمن ورد بثقله واخذ له من جميع
الصناع من يسافر معه الى بلاده وتجهز فى البر والبحر وسافر الى اليمن على مكة
فى البر ثم ان الزراعات نجبت والخيرات كثرت والاسعار رخصت والامور
ساكنت والدنيا بظل السلطان آمنة وسير الملك المسعود فى هذه السنة رجلا من
اهل الهند صورته صورة الادميين وعلى وجهه وجسمه جميعه شعر وصوف
يشبه صوف الدب حتى ان لحيته لا تتميز من شعر وجهه ومعه ترجمان يكلمه
بالهندى وذكر انه من اهل بيت كلهم هكذا الرجال منهم والنسوان وانزله
السلطان واكرمه ورتب له راتب يقوم به وزيادة وجاء الصيام المبارك فلم يجر
حديث فى امر البطركية ولا غيرها وانفق فيها انفاق ردى وهو ان واحدا من
الكتاب يعرف بالاسعد بن الكردوش كان يخدم كاتبا ببيت المال المعمور
فاحضر من ثغر الاسكندريه متاع على جارى العادة وكان قد امسى عليهم
المساء عن ان يفسروه فتركوه فى الصناديق البرانية واصبحوا قابلوا بالرسالة
على المتاع فوجدوه قد عدمت منه سوسيه فقالوا من كان فى بيت المال البارحة
عند وضع القماش فيه فذكروا جماعة منهم هذا الاسعد الكاتب فكتب بن
رمضان صاحب الديوان الى السلطان بصورة ما جرى فامر السلطان بمسك
جميعهم وايقاع الحوطه بينهم فأمسك جميعهم واحتيط على نسايهم وكان
المقصود منهم الاسعد المذكور فأمسك ولده وعوقب فأقرّ على ابيه انه اخذها
ثم ظهرت السوسيه بعد ذلك من عند شخص عدل فى بيت المال ذكر ان امرأة
رمتها لاجل بنتّيه ومعها رقعة وتركتهم وهربت وانهم اطلعوا على انها من بيت
الاسعد بن الكردوش وان الرقعة من عندهم وفيها استروا ما ستر الله وارحموا

ترحموا وشى من هذا فاحضرها من ساعته الى السلطان معها تقدم من اقرار
ولده عليه فامر السلطان ان تقطع يده اليمنى وشفع فيه كل امير فى الدولة
فما قبل فقطعت يده يوم الاحد وتوفى فى يوم الاحد الاخر وكان صابراً * محتسباً ٣١٠ (ظ)
شاكراً لله تعالى ولم يقر قط بشى وجرى على الطايفة شدة وامتهان اياما عده
وخصوصا الكتاب ثم ادركت الغلات ورخصت الاسعار حتى بيع القمح فى
بلاد الصعيد باربعة دراهم ونصف الاردب والشعير بثلاثة دراهم الاردب وكذلك
الجلبان والترمس اما السلجم وبزر الكتان فانهما بيعا بثمانية دراهم الاردب وهو
شىء ما سمع بمثله والزيت الحار بثلاثين درهم القلة والبطيخ بدرهم القنطار
والعنب بسبعة دراهم القنطار وكل الماكولات من هذه النسبة وكانت خيرات
ما روى مثلها من سنين عديدة الا ان الارزاق كانت قليلة والمكاسب كانت
ضعيفة والناس يشكون من وقوف احوالهم حتى ان جماعة من البذارين
تركوا دكاكينهم وقاموا من الاسواق لاجل البوار وانحط صرف الذهب الى
ان بلغ احد واربعين درهما ونصف بدينار وجاء اوان النيل المبارك فتوقف اولا
ثم اندفع ثم وقف ايام فى مسرى ونقص اصبعا او اصبعين ثم ردها وزاد ثم
دخلت سنة اربع واربعين وتسع ماية والماء لم يوقف ثم استمرت زيادته ووفى
فى يوم الخميس الرابع من توت وزاد الى ان بلغ عشر اصابع من سبع عشر
ذراعاً فى الثامن عشر من توت ونقص من التاسع عشر منه نقصا فاحشا وخرجت
الاراضى وتحركت الاسعار شيا يسيراً ثم انحطت الى حدها ورسم السلطان للامرا
والاجناد بان يخرجوا الى ظاهر القاهرة ويلبسوا ويطلبوا حتى يخرج يعرضهم
على الخيل فى الجبل ففعلوا ذلك وخرجوا كلهم مع من اجتمع معهم من العربان
والاصحاب والرحالة وكان جمعاً عظيما ويوماً مشهوداً وتزينوا اطلابا اطلابا
ميمنة وميسره وقلباً من باب القاهرة الى بركة الحب وعبر السلطان عليهم راكباً
يمر يطلب طلب ينمر جميعهم وعددهم وتركهم ويجوز من واحد الى اخر فى
يوم الثلثا الرابع عشر من شوال سنة اربع وعشرين وستماية وامرهم ان يعودوا
من الجبل ويبيت كل امير وجماعته فى منزلته بغير خيام ويصبحون يعبرون
عليه فما بقى لكل امير فى وطاقه الا خيمة واحدة برسمه لا غير وباتوا واصبحوا
عبروا على الخيمة التى ضربها السلطان على تل قريب من باب النصر وبدايرها

شبابيك خشب وقد سمرت سقفها وهو جالس داخل الشبابيك مع خواصه
٣١١ (ج) والمعممين من اهل دولته وصار الامرا يعبرون عليه * كل امير على ترتيب
ما وضع لهم بأوراق بأن فلان بعد فلان وفلان بعد فلان ولا يقدر احد ان
يتعدى ذلك وكان اول من عبر المولى الملك الصالح ولد السلطان لانه كان
راس الميمنة وما زال الامرا يعبرون فى يوم الاربعاء الخامس عشر من شوال
المقدم ذكره من صلاة الصبح الى موذن العشا طلب بعد طلب بحيث لا ينقطع
العبور لحظة واحدة الا اواخر هذا الطلب أوايل الذى بعده الجنايب والهجن
والعدد والزرد والنشاهير والاكواس والبوقات حتى ارهجت الارض وكان
عسكراً ما روى مثله ثم عبر السلطان مساء بعد عبورهم جميعاً ثم رسم لهم بأن
يشدوا ويركبوا فى نهار يوم الاحد التاسع عشر من شوال الذى يلى الاربعا
المقدم ذكره لاجل ظهور المولى الملك العادل ولده الاصغر فلبسوا وركبوا
وليس كاليومين الاولين الا مختصرين من ذلك وخرجوا الى صوب جامع
بن طولون تحت القلعة ولعبوا وكان السماط قد عمل فى الميدان الذى هناك
ونزل السلطان من القلعه راكبا وعبر على الاطلاب ومرّ بالسماط فامر به فتخاطفه
الناس على جارى العادة وطلع الى القلعة المحروسة وظهر ولده وختن معه خلقا
من اولاد الناس ومن الصعاليك الذين لا قدرة لهم كسباً لثوابهم وجرى الامر
فى نزوله لى بركة الفيل وشربه بها واعطايه الناس وهباته وصلاته ووقود
البرين والازر وطرح السماريه والحراريق فيها على ما جرت عليه الحال فى
السنة الخالية وبعد ذلك خرج السلطان اعز الله نصره الى ثغر الاسكندرية لكشف
احواله وتدبر اموره لانه وقعت الشناعة بان العدو على حركه ووردت الاخبار
فى ذى الحجة سنة اربع وعشرين وستمايه بوفاة الملك المعظم سلطان دمشق
والقدس وقعود ولده الملك الناصر بعده فى مملكته واستقر الامر على يده وعمل
العزا بالاسكندريه بحضور السلطان الملك الكامل وبقيت الاحوال على ما هى عليه
والاسعار راخيه والاشياء كثيرة والخيرات موجودة الا ان الناس كانوا يشكون
من قلة المعاش وعدم المكسب وقلة الدرهم والدينار وفى هذه الايام فى اواخر
كيهك عاد السلطان الملك الكامل من ثغر الاسكندرية وجعل طريقه على الديارات
ديارة بو مقار بوادى هبيب ونزل بها واضافه الرهبان وكل من معه واكثروا لهم

* الخير مما يوجد عند الرهبان وانعم عليهم السلطان ووقع لهم بخمس ماية اردب ٣١١ (ظ)
غله ثلثمايه قمحا وشعيرا وماية فولا وماية جلبانا واكرمهم وقربهم منه ورفع
الحجاب دونهم وكتب لهم منشورا بان من ترهب لا يلزمه جزيه ولا يطلب بها
وان اى راهب مات كان ميراثه للرهبان ولا للمواريث الجسديه عليه تعلق
ولا للديوان السلطانى عليه اعتراض وتحدثوا معه فى امر البطرك فقالوا له يا مولانا
نحن بغير بطرك وقد تلفت احوالنا وكان بهذا الدير نيف وثمانين قساً ما فيه
اليوم الا اربعة لانهم ما وجد من تقدم عوضهم فقال لهم اختاروا من شئتم
وانا اقدمه لكم قالوا يا مولانا نحن ما معنا مال والبطرك يطلب عليه المال فقال لهم
اتفقوا على من اردتم وما يطلب احد منكم شيئا ولم يقو عزمهم على احد وانفصل
السلطان عنهم وهو شاكراً لهم وكذلك ساير العسكر . ثم وصول رسول السلطان
الذى كان توجه مع رسول الانبرور الواصل فى السنة الخارجة ووصل معه
رسول اخر من جهة الانبرور المذكور الا انه ليس مثل ذاك الرسول فى حرمته
بل دونه واحضر معه هدايا من خيل وقماش ومصاغ وجوارح وانزل على
جارى العاده وتحرك السلطان عز نصره للسفر الى الشام هو وعساكره وخرج من
القاهرة فى يوم الاحد التاسع والعشرين من ابيب من السنة المذكورة وسار على
فوره ونزل على تل العجول منزله بين الداروم وبين غزه بعد ان استخلف
بمصر ولده الملك الصالح وسلطنه بها واستنابه فيها ودخلت سنة خمس واربعين
وتسع مايه ثم ان السلطان تنقل من تل العجول من منزله الى منزله الى ان وصل
الى نابلس فاقام بها وامتدت جيوشه للفور الى قصر بن معين الدين وجاز القدس
والساحل من الداروم الى القصر المذكور وفى اثنا ذلك وصل الانبرور من
المغرب الى قبرص ومن قبرص الى عكا وجات رسله الى السلطان بهدايا نفيسه
وبجمل عظيم وكانوا اثنين جليلين احدهما صاحب صيدا والاخر للكند تماس
نايب الملك فى عكا وتلقاهم السلطان ملقا عظيما وركب العسكر جميعه يوم
وصولهم وانزلوا فى كرامة كبيرة وترددت الرسل من السلطان اليهم ومنهم الى
السلطان وكان هذا الانبرور رجلا حكيما كريما حسن المقاصد مشكور السيرة
وتمادى الحال على ذلك والسلطان اعز الله نصره * يمده بالهدايا من الحجورة ٣١٢ (ج)
والبغال والهجن والنجابى والاقمشة وغير ذلك من تحف الملوك وبعد ذلك

رحل السلطان من على نابلس وعاد الى مجدليا نزل عليها وتنقل فى المنازل الى
قريا بالقرب من عسقلان وهناك وصل اليه اخوه الملك الاشرف صاحب
الشرق يوم عيد الاضحى من سنة خمس وعشرين وستمايه وكان يوماً مشهوداً
ورسل الانبرور لم تكن تنقطع وسير السلطان اعز الله نصره احضر من مصر الفيل
الذى كان الملك المسعود صاحب اليمن والحجاز احضره صحبته مع جملة الفيلة
ولم يكن بقى منهم سواه لانهم ماتوا كلهم وسير الفيل المذكور الى الانبرور
ورحل الانبرور من عكا ونزل يافا يعمرها بعد عمارة قيسارية ووصل نيل مصر
فى هذه السنة الى عشرين اصبعاً من سبعة عشر ذراعاً وكانت الاسعار راخية بها
جدا والشام بضد ذلك وكان العسكر فى ضايقة وغلا حتى انهم باعوا خيلهم
وعددهم ورحل السلطان نزل تل العجول اقام بها والملك الاشرف معه ورجع
الملك الناصر ولد الملك المعظم صاحب دمشق يسلم بلاده من الغور الى غزه
ولم يبق بيد السلطان من الشام سوا غزه والداروم ووصل الى السلطان على هذه
المنزله الملك المجاهد صاحب حمص اقام عنده مدة ورسل الانبرور مترددة
وهو على يافا ورسل السلطان مترددة اليه ايضا وفى اثناء ذلك رحل الملك الاشرف
ورحل معه صاحب حمص وكان المستامنون من عسكر دمشق كثيراً يحضرون
الى خدمة السلطان ويرحب بهم ويعطيهم ويخلع عليهم ويقطعهم وكانوا عدة
لا تنحصر واخر من جا منهم عز الدين ايدمر وكان من اجل امرأيهم وينزل بمنزلة
استاذ الدار وأوفى واعطاه السلطان من النعم ما لا يوصف وادناه وقربه ورفع
منزلته واعطاه فى جملة ما اعطاه دار الصاحب شكر بالقاهرة لسكنه واحسن اليه
احسانا كثيرا وفى هذه المدة تحركت الغلة بمصر وبلغ القمح خمسين دينار الماية
اردب والشعير مثله او دونه بشى يسير ثم انحط يسيراً فصار القمح بثمانية عشر
درهما الاردب والشعير ثلثة عشر درهما وأشيع بان السلطان عز نصره صالح
الانبرور على ان تعطيه القدس الشريف وبلاد من اعماله وهى التى على الطريق
من عكا اليه وبيت لحم من جملة ذلك * ثم صحت الشناعة وتسلم الانبرور ٣١٢ (ظ)
مدينة القدس الشريف وبيت لحم ولد الرمله وما والى ذلك من القدس الى
عكا ويافا وكان فى طول هذه المدة قد عمر قيسارية ويافا واستتب الامر بينه
وبين السلطان خلد الله ملكه وعبر الانبرور الى بيت المقدس فى اوايل الصوم

الشريف من هذه السنة وكان يوما عظيما وتسلموا الصخرة ثم اقام الانبرور
بالقدس يومين لا غير وخرج منه الى عكا وبقى بها الى ان فرغ العيد واستخلف
فى البلاد من يثق به وسافر فى البحر الى بلاده وكان السلطان الملك الاشرف
قد اخذ بعض العسكر وتوجه الى دمشق نازلها ولحقه السلطان الكبير الملك الكامل
ونزلوا جميعاً عليها واجتمعت اليهم العساكر من الشام والشرق وضايقوها
وحاصروها وقاتلوها وفى اثنا ذلك وردت الاخبار بوفاة الملك المسعود صاحب
اليمن والحجاز بمكة لانه كان خرج من اليمن طالبا الى ديار مصر واحضر معه
كل موجود وكل تحفة وجميع ما اقتناه واقتناه من تقدمه فى طول المدد
وسيرها برا وبحرا فتوفى بمكة ووصلت امواله وخزاينه الى القاهرة المحروسة
وكان موجوداً عظيما لا يحصر فسبحان الحى الذى لا يموت ووصل نساوه
وحشمه وغلمانه بعد ذلك ورخصت الاسعار بمصر ورجعت الى حدها واستمر
الحصار والقتال على دمشق والرسل تتردد بين السلطان وبين ابن اخيه الى
ان تقرر انه يسلم دمشق ويقنع بالكرك ونابلس والغور والبلقا وبقية بلاد القدس
الشريف فتسلمها السلطان فى الثامن من شعبان سنة ست وعشرين وستمايه
وتقرر ان يعطيها الملك الاشرف بشرط ان يسلم اليه الرها وحران وسروج والوزر
وما والاها وتوجهت امراء السلطان وامناوه لتسليم ذلك فاذا تسلموا هذه
البلاد يسلم الملك الاشرف دمشق وانتقل منها السلطان الى غيرها وتوقف النيل
فى هذه السنة توقفا عظيما فى مباديه حتى انه جاء الخامس والعشرين من ابيب
وهو فى خمسة اذرع ثم مد مداً جيداً من السادس والعشرين منه وكان القمح
والغلة كلها قد غلت وبيع القمح بعشرين درهما الاردب خفية لانه كان قد
منع بيعه الا على المحتاجين من الطحانين بستة عشر درهما الاردب ثم دفع النيل
دفعاً عظيما من السادس والعشرين من ابيب حتى انه كان يزيد فى النهار عشرين
اصبعاً وما حولها والتقى البحران فى ليلة الخميس التاسع من مسرى وانحطت
الاسعار * واطمان الناس ووصل المقرر فى نهار الثلثا الحادى والعشرين من ٣١٣ (ج)
مسرى المذكور وزاد الرخص واطمأن الناس من قبل الطعام وما يجرى مجراه
وفى هذه الايام وردت الاخبار بان السلطان جرّد عسكرا وسيره من دمشق
الى حماه لياخذها ويسلمها الى ابن اخيه الملك المظفر بن الملك المنصور بن

تقى الدين لان العهد كان له من ابيه انها له من بعده واتفقت وفاة ابيه وهو
عند السلطان الملك الكامل بالديار المصرية فى نوبة الافرنج على دمياط فغلبه
على الملك وسبقه اليه اخ له شقيق يقال له الملك الناصر واقام بها مدة وكان الملك
المعظم يشد منه فلما توفى الملك المعظم وفتحت دمشق اراد السلطان اعز الله
نصره ان يوصل كل ذى حق الى حقه فامر العساكر فسارت مع الملك المظفر
المذكور ونزلوا الى حماه ونازلوها وضايقوها الا ان الملك الناصر الذى فيها
حصن القلعة وقواها وهى قلعة حصينة منيعة وحصل فيها من الازواد ما يكفى
لسنين كثيرة وبقيت البلدة محاصرة والقتال عليها وتوقف النيل بمصر ونقص
اصابع يسيرة بعد وصول المفرد وساء ظن الناس به .

ثم دخلت سنة ست واربعين وتسع مائة ووفى النيل ستة عشر ذراعاً فى
اول توت وخلق المقياس فى نهار الخميس ثانيه وكسر الخليج فى اليوم المذكور
وكان يوماً عظيما وانحلت الاسعار ورخصت وكثرت الخيرات والازود وفتحت
حماه سلماً لان صاحبها خرج منها طالبا لخدمة السلطان وان يستعطفه فاوقعت
الحوطة به ورأى الذين بقوا بعده فى القلعة انه قد حيل بينهم وبينه فما كان لهم
الا ان راسلوا اخاه الملك المظفر واطلعوه الى القلعة وسلموا اليه المملكة فى
مستهل شوّال من السنة المذكورة وعاد العسكر المصرى ومقدمه الامير فخر الدين
استاذ الدار فنزلوا على بعلبك وحاصروها فما بقوا بها الا اياماً قلايل حتى
اخذوا المدينة وتحامت للقلعة مدة مديدة لان صاحبها كان مدبراً شيخاً فنزل
الملك الاشرف على القلعة المذكورة عسكراً يحصرها ويمنع من يطلع اليها او ميرة
تحمل اليها وتوجه العسكر فى خدمة السلطان الى حران لان السلطان كان قد
تقدم وقت نزول العسكر على حماه وكان السلطان قد اخذ من الملك الاشرف
حران والرها وسروج والرقة ورأس العين واقام بالبلاد المذكورة يحفظها ويدير
احوالها فجا خوارزم شاه * وهو ملك الفرس الاعظم نزل على خلاط وحاصرها ٣١٣ (ظ)
وقطع عنها الميره واحتاط بها وكان فى جيوش لا تحصى وشتا عليها واصحابها
متماسكين الى ان فرغ الشتا فتقدم اليها وقاتلها فاخذها بالسيف وقتل فيها
جماعة كبيرة من الاجناد واهل البلد ثم رفع السيف عنهم فلما علم السلطان
ذلك عاد الى القاهرة المحروسة فى بوونه الموافق لشهر رجب من السنة المذكورة

ودخل اليها فى اليوم الثامن عشر منه وكان ولده فى حال غيبته قد جاف على
العامة وظلم الرعية وصار يسخرهم فى بستان ومناظر عمرّها بغير اجرة فلما علم
السلطان ذلك ازاله واخذ من كان حوله مما كان يحسن له ذلك قوماً اعتقلهم
وقوماً ضربهم وصادرهم وقوماً نفاهم وعاد الى الدواوين المستخدمين فآخذهم
بتغليق الاموال واستخراج بواقى الاعمال فما كان فى شدة سواهم وطرح الشيخ
نش الخلافة بوالفتوح الجب دفعة ثانية لانه كان رسم له ان يخرج الى الاسكندريه
فيكشفها فاعتذر وطلب الاعفا من ذلك فحنق عليه فامر برميه الجب وتوقف
النيل الى اخر ابيب وتحرك سعر الغلة حتى بلغ عشرين درهما الاردب القمح
والشعير عشرة دراهم ونصف الاردب وارتاح الناس من ذلك ثم توقف النيل
الى ان جا العاشر من مسرى وهو فى اربعة اذرع فطلب القمح ودفع فيه
ستة وعشرين وسبعة وعشرين درهما الاردب ثم نودى عليه وسعر بعشرين
درهما الاردب والشعير باثنى عشر درهما الاردب وكذلك الفول وجزم السلطان
فى ذلك جزما لم ير مثله ثم من الله تعالى ودفع النيل دفعاً عظيما متواصلا من
الحادى عشر من مسرى الى العشرين منه فزاد فى عشرة ايام سبعة اذرع والتقا
البحران فى يوم الاربعا الحادى والعشرين من مسرى وكان ثالث عيد المسلمين
الذى هو الفطر وسر الناس بذلك سروراً عظيما وانحطت الاسعار وطابت قلوب
الناس واستبشروا بالخير ومد النيل بعد ذلك الى الخامس والعشرين من مسرى
وكان يزيد فى كل يوم نصف ذراع ثم تقاصرت زيادته الى يوم الاحد الثانى
من النسى وهو الرابع عشر من شوال سنة سبع وعشرين وسمّايه فوقف وقد
بلغ اصابع من اربعة عشر ذراعاً وورد الخبر بكسر الخوارزمى فى يوم * الثلثا ٣١٤ (ب)
السادس عشر من شوال من السنة المذكورة الموافق للرابع من النسى ودقت
البشاير بذلك ثلاثة ايام وخلع على الرسول الواصل من دمشق بهذا الخبر خلعا
سنية واعطى فرساً بسخت وشرفسار ذهب والف دينار فى كيس وركب بذلك
ودار القاهرة ومصر ودخلت سنة سبع واربعين وتسع مايه للشهداء الابرار فى
نهار الخميس الثانى عشر من شوال سنة سبع وعشرين وستماية الهلالية والنيل
متوقف والناس مغتمون لذلك والقمح مسعر بعشرين درهما الاردب ولا يباع
الا على الطحانين بمقدار ما يستعملونه او باطلاق من الوالى والحبوب قد تحرك

سعرها وصار الخبز ثمانية ارطال بدرهم وكسر الخليج من غير وفا فى يوم الاربعا
السابع من توت الموافق للرابع والعشرين من شوال سنة سبع وعشرين وستمايه
واقام الى ثانى يوم حتى وصل الى باب الخرق وبعد ثلثة ايام وصل الى باب
الخوخه ووقف هناك وبلغ الماء الى ثلثة وعشرين اصبعا من اربعة عشر ذراعاً
ولم يشرب احد فى هذه السنة من الخليج ولا استقا منه سقا ولا احتيج فيه
الى معديه لانه كان يخاض ونقص من السابع عشر من توت الذى هو عيد
الصليب وجا فى توت المذكور من الحرما لم يعهد مثله ثم رد بعض النقص فى
الرابع والعشرين من توت الى اخره اصابع لم ينتفع بها وارتفعت الاسعار ورسم
السلطان بالتسعير وان لا يباع القمح الا بعشرين درهما الاردب ووظف على
كل شونه شيا معينا برسم الطحانين وامتنع الناس من البيع ومن جلب الغله
وضاق بالناس الامر وصار الخبز لا يصاب بالاسواق وان وجد كان عليه
من الضراب ما لا يوصف ثم يكون متغير الطعم والرايحة لان الناس ما يبيعون
من القمح الا العتيق المسوس وما يجد الطحانون سواه فيعملونه مخبي على هذه
الحالة والسوس فما كان يقدر على شرا شى لان الوطف للطحانين لا يعطون
احداً منه شيئاً واصحاب القمح لا تسمح نفوسهم ان يبيعوا شيئاً بهذا السعر
الا غصباً وبقى هذا الحال الى اوايل هتور وكاد القمح يعدم ورسم السلطان
باطلاق السعر فبيع فى نهار اطلاقه بستين درهما الاردب ثم رجع انحط الى اربعين
واستمر على ذلك مدة واما الزيت الحار فانه بلغ الى مابة ودرهمين القله وانحط
الى تسعين وما دونها واستمر على ذلك وكان اكثر البضايع فايدة فى هذه السنة
٣١٤ (ظ) * وكذلك ما يختص به من البزر والسلجم وفى طوبه من السنة المذكورة رسم
بحفر خليج القاهرة وطرح على اصحاب الادر والبساتين التى عليه فاعتمد الناس
ذلك ونالهم منه غرامة كثيرة وكانت الدار تغرم ثلثين دينار وما دونها على قدر
الدار وعرضها وكذلك رسم فى جميع البلاد ان تحفر خلجها وتقوى جسورها
وتفتح لها الترع المستجدة التى تقضى ريها من الانيال القليله وكل ذلك على
المقطعين واهل البلاد ثم رسم فى اواخر امشير بان يحفر بحر مصر من جهة دار
الملك الى فم خليج القاهرة وجعل ذلك على اصحاب الادر بمصر والجزيرة التى
على البحر واجبوا ذلك على الناس وجعلوه قصباً تكون القصبة طول سبعة

اذرع فى عرض اربعة قصبات او خمس على حسب بعد المكان من البحر وقاربه
فى عمق خمسة عشر ذراعاً بالعمل فكان ينوب القصبة عشرة دنانير واكثر وتحرك
السعر وبلغ القمح الى ستين درهما الاردب والشعير الى ثلثين درهما وجميع
الحبوب من النسبة واحترق البحر احتراقاً ما روى مثله وظهرت القرابيص التى
فيه من امشير وجرفت المراكب الصغار وقيل ان الذى فى قاع البحر فى الوقت
المذكور ثلثة اذرع ونصف وربع ولم يزل الحال على ذلك والاسعار غالية
والناس فى شدة شديدة لان احوالهم كانت ضعيفة الى الغاية وجاء الخامس
والعشرين من بوونه الذى يطالع فيه باحوال النيل وفى القاع ذراع واحد
ونصف وربع وهو شى قليل ما روى مثله وتوقف الماء ابيب كله ثم زاد فى
مسرى وانتهى الى خمسة عشر ذراعاً ثم وقف النسى وييئس الناس منه ثم دخلت
سنة ثمان واربعين وتسع مابة للشهدا الابرار وكسر مجرى المنجا خشية من نزول
الماء وكذلك ساير الابحر الكبار واذن الله بزيادته فزاد فى توت شيا لم يعهد قط
ووفى فى التاسع منه وانتهت زيادته الى عشرة اصابع من سبعة عشر ذراعاً
ورويت البلاد كلها لان السلطان كان دبر البلاد تدبير لم يدبره احد واخذ اهل
كل عمل لعمل جسورهم وحفر تراعهم وحمل الماء اليها من المواضع البعيده
بالجسور التى تعمل عليها فرويت البلاد كلها ولم يشرق منها الا السواحل العوال
التى لا يبالى بها معها انه روى من هذا الماء ما لا كان يروى الا من ثمانية عشر
ذراعاً وتسعة عشر ذراعاً وكل ذلك بتدبير مولانا السلطان وحسن نظره وكانت
الفلوس قد كثر فيها الزغل والفساد وصار * فى الصعيد من يضربها خارج الدار ٣١٥ (ج)
وكثر ذلك وفشا وكان صرفها كل ستة عشر فلساً بدرهم اسود وليس بينها وبين
الصرف فى الذهب بالدراهم سوى نصف درهم فى الدنيا ونصف وربع وكان
الناس طيبين النفوس بها ولا يردها احد فامر السلطان بان ينادى ان لا يتعامل
الا بالفلوس السلطانيه وما ظهر من غير ذلك يقص ويطرح واقيم لذلك صيارف
وتلف على الناس من ذلك شىء كثير ثم ان صرفها رخص فصار الدينار بخمسة
واربعين درهما فلوسا ثم تدرج الى ان بلغ يوم تطيره وهو السادس والعشرين
من ابيب الى ثمانين درهما فلوسا بدينار والدراهم السواد كل عشرة دراهم بثمانية عشر
درهما فلوس يكون الدرهم المصرى ثلثين فلساً واما الدراهم النقره فانها تساوى

كل درهم ستة دراهم وربع بالفلوس وما بقى بايدى الناس سوى الفلوس لان ديوان السلطان ما كان ياخذها فى شى من معاملاته لا فى اجرة املاك ولا ضمان ولا بيع ولا شرا وبطل عمل الفلوس بدار ضربها وهى كلما مرت رخصت ثم انه جرت فى هذه السنة كاينة عجيبة وذلك ان رجلا قسيساً راهبا خبيرا يعرف بابى سعيد بن العفيف كانت زوجة اخيه قد ابتاعت جاريه روميه من رجل فرنجى ثم باعتها الى رجل من التجار المترددين من بلاد الفرنج فلما بلغ مولانا السلطان ذلك انكره غاية الانكار وامر بان يباع القسيس وامراة اخيه واختها ونودى عليهم فى سوق الرقيق وكانت شدة ما سمع بمثلها فاشتراهم رجل مبارك اصله نصرانى من الشام من المارونيه وقد اسلم فابتاعهم بستين دينار وانتحى الناس عنهم وجمعوها لهم وافتكوهم وكان هذا الرجل محسناً اليهم الى الغاية واما القس فانه خرج الى دير العربة فاقام به والمرتان احداهما كانت راهبة وكان كلاهما قديسيين واطلق سبيلهما وسافر السلطان بالعسكر المنصورة فى يوم عيد الفصح من هذه السنة وهو فى جمادى الاخره سنة تسع وعشرين وستمايه الهلاليه ومضى الى دمشق ومن دمشق الى الشرق لان عدواً كان قد خرج على بلاد الفرس والعراق يعرف بكاقر ترك فى عدة كثيرة لا يحصى عددها وهزم خوارزم شاه واستباح بلاده وأخربها ووصل الى اطراف بلاد بغداد وسير الخليفة الامام المستنصر ابو جعفر المنصور من بغداد الى السلطان رسولين جليلى القدر احدهما معمم والاخر * مشربش من اخص مماليكه وكانت لهما حشمة وحرمة لم يعرف لرسول مثلها واهتم بهما السلطان اهتمام مثله وجعل لهما من الاقامة والراتب ما يعجز الواصف عن وصفه وكانا احضر معهما خلع الخلافة الشريفة على السلطان عز نصره وعلى اقاربه وخواصه والعهد بسلطنة البلاد والممالك التى بيد سلطاننا وكان وصولهما من دواعى اسباب سفر السلطان عز نصره وكانت اخبار هذا الخليفة احسن الاخبار من العدل والاحسان وتجنب الظلم والعدوان واعاده ما عطب من سالف الزمان والمساواه فى الفضل على كل انسان حتى ان الذهب كثر فى ايدى الناس وورد منه الى مصر جملة كبيرة لكثرة عطايه واحسانه الى رعيته كافة واوليائه ثم ان السلطان الملك الكامل سافر الى الشام المحروس فى برموده من هذه السنة الموافق لجمادى الاخرة سنة

٣١٥ (ظ)

تسع وعشرين وستمايه على ما تقدم ذكره وتوجه الى الشرق وقصد الكافر فاندفع قدامه ولم يقف اصلا وخرج عن البلاد ونزل السلطان عز نصره على أميد وحاصرها ووفى النيل المبارك فى الثانى من النسى بعد توقفه اياماً كثيرة لان المفرد وكان وصوله فى السادس عشر من مسرى وتاخر الوفا بعده الى هذا التاريخ وكانت الفلوس قد كثرت جدا ورخصت حتى بلغ الدينار الى تسعين درهما فلوس والدرهم النقره الى سبعة دراهم وتأذى الناس من ذلك.

ثم دخلت سنة تسع واربعين وتسع مايه وبلغ النيل الى ان وفى ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وامتدت زيادته الى السابع من بابه وزاد فى هذا الشهر زيادة ما عهد مثلها وذلك انه زاد فى ثانيه وثالثه وخامسه اصبعين اصبعين فى كل يوم وهو ذراع الثمانية عشر وفى سادسه وسابعه وهو اخر زيادته كل يوم ثلثة اصابع ورخصت الاسعار وبيع القمح بعشرين درهما الاردب بالفلوس والشعير بعشرة دراهم الاردب ورخصت الاشيا كلها الا ان الفلوس رخصت بالاكثر وبلغت الى مابة وعشرين درهما بدينار والدرهم النقره بتسعة دراهم فلوساً وضاق الامر على الناس لان ديوان السلطان لا يستخرجون من الناس فى ساير معاملاتهم الا ذهباً او دراهم سواداً ولم يبق بايدى الناس الا الفلوس وكانوا فى شدة عظيمة من هذا المعنى ووردت الاخبار بان السلطان عز نصره فتح امد وجميع حصونها وهى اثنين وسبعين حصنا * ولم يبق منها سوى حصن واحد يسمى حصن كيفا ومات فى اوايل هذه السنة شمس الملوك بن اخت السلطان والامير فخر الدين عثمان استاذ الدار وجماعة من الامراء الكبار وكان الغلا عندهم الى حد لا يوصف الخبز بثلاثة دراهم نقرة الرطل والعلاق الشعير بدرهمين نقره والتبن باربعين درهما نقره الحمل ولا يقدر عليه ووصل اكثر العسكر رجاله عرايا الى القاهرة المحروسة ثم ورد الامر السلطانى بتاريخ يوم الاحد اخر كيهك الموافق للثانى عشر من شهر ربيع الاول سنة ثلثين وستمايه بتبطيل ضرب الفلوس والمعاملة بها فنودى عليها فى يوم الاثنين ثانى النهار المذكور وبيعت من نهارها بالرطل فى سوق النحاسين بدرهمين ونصف الرطل ودرهمين وربع وصار المال الى ربعه وتلف على الناس جملة كبيرة ثم بيعت بعد ذلك بدرهم واحد وربع الرطل وتلف على الناس شى كثير وجملة كبيرة الا انهم تباشروا ببطلانها للنظر فى العاقبة فيما تقدم ثم وردت

٣١٦ (ج)

الاخبار بفتح حصن كيفا وتسليم السلطان له ثم انه استناب عنه فى بلاد الشرق وامد واعمالها وحران وما والاها وسروج وما معها ابنه الملك الصالح ايوب الذى كان ولى عهده بمصر ووصل الى القاهرة المحروسة فى جمادى الاخرة سنة ثلثين وستمايه ووصل بعده فى خدمته الملك المسعود الذى كان صاحب امد ومعه خواصه واهله وماله وحرمه واحسن اليه سلطاننا احسانا لم يسبق اليه واعطاه من الاموال والكساوى والاوانى ما لم يعط احد واقطعه بلاداً تغل اربعين الف دينار فى السنه لخاصّه خارجاً عن الغله واضاف اليه خبز مائتى فارس وانزله فى قطر من دار الوزارة وهو المعروف بباب السر وشكره كل ملك فى الارض وعلى ذلك وعرف حسن عهده وصحة وفايه وتحرك جماعة اصحابنا واجتمعوا مع رهبان دير بو مقار لانه كان الصيام واتفقوا على اختيار الشيخ يوحنا بن الموتمن بن بو البدر شماس من كنيسة المعلقة ذو دين ونسك واعمال جميله وكتبوا له محاضر وكتبوا كلهم خطوطهم فيها وقدموها لمولانا السلطان عز نصره ورسم على لسان الامير الصلاح بأنه اذا اتفقوا عليه تقدم لهم ثم تجادلوا فيما بينهم ولم يعملوا شيأً ونحلت القضية وخرج الرهبان الى ديرهم * وبقى الحال بحاله الا ان هذه الايام كانت اياما مباركة الكنايس تعمّر بالنهار باذن مولانا السلطان وفتاوى الفقها والنصارى مكرمون معزوزون ركاب الخيل والبغال ولا يطالبهم احد بغيار والسلطان مراع للرهبان منعم عليهم محسن اليهم وارثهم بعضهم للبعض لا يدخل بينهم يد حشريه وكذلك النصارى واليهود تقبل اقوال مقدميهم فى انسابهم ومن ذكروا انه اهل لم يتعرض اليه ثم جاء النيل المبارك وبدر شيا لم يعرف مثله وذلك انه التقى البحران تحت جزيرة مصر فى الرابع والعشرين من ابيب ووصل الماء الى سد الخليج فى التاسع والعشرين منه ووصل المفرد فى السادس من مسرى وتوقفت الزيادة ووفى وخلق المقياس فى يوم الجمعة التاسع عشر من مسرى الموافق للثالث من ذى القعده سنة ثلثين وستمايه وكسر الخليج فى ثانى اليوم المذكور وكان نيلا ما روى اعجب منه ومن عجايبه انه زاد فى السادس والعشرين من مسرى فى ذراع السبعة عشر عشرة اصابع فصار تسعة عشر من سبعة عشر وفى ثانيه سبع اصابع فكمل سبعة عشر ذراعاً ودخلت سنة خمسين وتسعماية للشهداء الابرار ثم زاد فى ذراع الثمانية عشر فى الثانى عشر

٣١٦ (ظ)

من توت اربعة اصابع فصار تسعة من ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وزاد فى سادس عشر
توت اربعة اصابع صار على سبعة عشر من ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وزاد فى سابع عشر
توت وهو يوم عيد الصليب سبعة اصابع فكمل ثمانية عشر ذراعاً وزاد فى ثامن
عشره ستة اصابع فى ذراع التسعة عشر وكانت نهاية زيادته عشر اصابع من
تسعة عشر ذراعاً وثبت على الارض فى اخر بابه حتى ظن انه ما ينزل ثم نزل
فى واحدة وزرع الناس وتباشروا بعد ان غرق بلاداً كثيرة واخرب عمارة
عظيمة وكان نيلا عظيما ورخصت الاسعار وبيع القمح العالى بتسعة دراهم الاردب
والشعير بخمسة ودونها بدون ذلك وساير الحبوب من النسبة ولم يكن ثم شى
غالياً الا اللحم والدجاج وكان ذلك لانقطاع الطرق لان النيل غشى الارض
كلها وفى هذه السنة تجهز السلطان الملك الكامل عز نصره للخروج الى الشرق
وانفق فى العساكر اموالا عظيمة حتى كانت الدراهم تشق القاهرة على اقفاص
الحمالين الى ادر الامراء لكل امير على قدر عدته لانه اذا كان الامير معه ماية
فارس اعطى المايه الفى دينار لكل فارس عشرين دينار * والامير الف دينار ٣١٧ (ب)
ولجميعهم من هذه النسبة وفيهم من خصّصه بزيادة عن ذلك مثل حلقته
الخاص وغيرهم فاما انقص فلا ولم يبق من لا اخذ هذه النفقه الا المجردون
بالحجاز وولاة الاعمال والمتاخرون من السفر لا غير وخرج من القاهرة فى
الحادى عشر من بشنس من هذه السنة وقد كان تقدمه اخوه الملك الاشرف
موسى بأيام ثم رسم بان يكون نائبا عند ولده الاصغر الملك العادل فولاه ذلك
وركب بالسيوف والسنجق بعد سفره فى يوم الاثنين العشرين من بشنس
المقدم ذكره وقد كانوا الجماعة يحدثوا فى امر البطرك على لسان امير يقال له
الصلاح الاربلى وطلب منهم خمسة الف دينار ووعدهم ان يحظهم منها شيا
فلم ينهض قواهم بذلك ولا تحرر امر بل قالوا انه وصى ولده الملك العادل
بانهم اذا اوردوا المبلغ تقدم لهم من يختارونه وبقى الناس بعضهم يرى ذلك
وبعضهم يقول ما هو مصلحة لانه حادث على الكنيسة ولا يرجع يتغير ابدا
ولم تكن نياتهم خالصة ولا بينهم اتفاق الا فى الظاهر واستمر الرخص والامن
الا ان الثمار فى هذه السنة كانت قليلة جداً لاجل الغرق وثبات الماء على الارض
المدة الطويلة ثم ان الماء زاد فى بوونه زيادة ظاهرة مقدار ذراعين وكان فى القاع

مقدار ستة اذرع وجا اوان اخذ استقرار القاع بالمقياس المبارك وهو الخامس
والعشرين من بوونه وهو فى اول التسعة اذرع ثم نقص مقدار نصف ذراع
ووقف وتحرك سعر الغلة اربعة دراهم الاردب وحدث فى عشية نهار السبت
الرابع وعشرين من ابيب الموافق للتاسع من شوال سنة احدى وثلثين وستمايه
غيم كثير واصفر الجو وامطرت ساعة جيده وبقى الغيم طول الليل وكان هذا من
جملة النوادر التى لم يجر مثلها ووفى النيل المبارك فى يوم الاربعا الثالث والعشرين
من مسرى وخلق المقياس فى النهار المذكور بحضور الملك العادل بن السلطان
الملك الكامل اعز الله نصره ورخصت الاسعار ورجعت الى حدها الا ان الغل
كان قليلا والثمار فسدت كلها لان النيل الماضى كان غرقها وبنباته خنقها
فافسد اكثر الثمار مما اصلح وخسر اكثر مما اربح وبيع العنب فى هذه السنة
بخمسين درهما القنطار والقند باربعة دنانير ونصف القنطار واصناف الحلاوة
من النسبة * ولم يعصر من الناس فى هذه السنة الا النزر اليسير والذى يعمل شيأ ٣١٧ (ظ)
اقتصر على نصفه لاجل غلا الاصناف ووردت الاخبار ان السلطان اعز الله
نصره دخل الى بلاد الروم ودقت البشاير بالقلعة بالنصرة والظفر وانه اخذ من
بلاد الروم حصنا يقال له حصن منصور ثم عبر على ضيعة يقال لها رعبان وعبر
منها الى الدربندات التى تسميها العرب الدروب وانتهى الى الدربند الثالث
بالعساكر والجموع وكانت عساكر جمه لم يجتمع مثلها وقيل انه عرض فى
سبعة وعشرين الف جندى خارجا عمن يتبعها من غلمان واتباع وعربان
وكان الشى عندهم غاليا جدا لان بلاد الروم لا يخرج لهم منها شى وبلاد
الشام قد ابعدوا عنها فرأى السلطان ان الامر عسر وان عساكر الروم قدامه
فرجع من هناك وعدى موضع يعرف بجسر الخشب طالبا الى الشرق وكان
صاحب خرت برت فيمن كان معه وكان قد عرفه ان الطريق من بلاده الى
بلاد الروم سهلة وان الذى دل السلطان على هذه الطريق غره فقصد السلطان
اعز الله نصره ان يعبر الى الروم من هناك ودخلت سنة احدى وخمسين وتسع مايه
للشهداء الابرار وزاد النيل المبارك وانتهى الى احدى عشر اصبعا من تسع عشره
ذراعاً واطمان الناس وكثرت الخيرات ورخصت الاسعار ثم ان ملك الروم
وهو المسلم صاحب قونيه واقصريا ابلغه قصد السلطان خرت برت فاتاها

بالرم والطم فسير السلطان اعز نصره ابن اخته الملك المظفر بن تقى الدين صاحب
حماه نجدة لصاحب خرت برت ومعه جماعة من اكابر الامراء مثل البانياسى
وصواب الخادم ومن يجرى مجراهم فوافوا المدينة قبل وصول الرومى اليها فجعلوها
ظهرهم وجاء الرومى فقاتلوه اشد قتال وامرّه ثم كثر عليهم الجمع لانهم ما كان
معهم سوى زهاء ثلثة الف فارس فانكسروا وعادوا الى المدينة فاما صاحب
حماه والامرا ومن معه من الامراء فالتجأوا الى القلعة واما الاجناد والغلمان
والجمع فمنهم من اسر ومنهم من هرب وفيهم من قتل وعبروا الى القلعة
وصاحب خرت برت معهم وكان قد وعدهم ان بالقلعة كلما يحتاجوه فما وجدوا
بها شيا وقيل انها كانت مكيدة منه فتجالدوا وتصبروا على ضر شديد وضنك
عظيم أياماً تناهز العشرين يوماً فلما تيقنوا الهلاك سيروا من جماعتهم امير * يقال ٣١٨ (ج)
له بها الدين بن ملكيشوا الذى كان والى القاهرة الى ملك الروم يطلب لهم
الامان على انفسهم وان يسلموا القلعة فاعطاهم الامان على نفوسهم خاصة
فخرجوا باسوا حال يكون ولم يخلع على احد منهم سواء الملك المظفر وصواب
الخادم واعطى كل منهم فرساً يركبه الى عسكر السلطان وكان فى طريقهم الدير
المعروف بدير برصوما فخرج اليهم الرهبان السريان تلقوهم بالازواد والخيرات
وحملوهم على بغال الدير الى ان اوصلوهم الى العسكر وصار للرهبان بهذه
القضية عند ساير المسلمين مدحة عظيمة ونزل النيل فى وقته وتباشر الناس بانها
سنة مقبلة وان الزراعات فيها ناجيه لان السنة الماضية ما افلح فيها زرع وكان
سعر القمح من ثلثة عشر درهما الاردب الى سبعة دراهم الاردب على قدر العالى
والدون والشعير بخمسة دراهم الاردب والفول بسته والجلبان مثله وبذر الكتان
بعشرة دراهم الاردب والسلجم والبرسيم من النسبه وجميع الماكولات والمطعومات
رخاص جداً ولم يكن شيأ غاليا اصلا وعاد السلطان الملك الكامل عز نصره
الى الديار المصريه وطلع الى قلعة المحروسة فى يوم الاثنين الثامن من جمادى
الاول سنة اثنين وثلثين وستماية الموافق للرابع من امشير سنة احدى وخمسين
وتسع مايه وهو اول يوم من صيام اهل نينوى واطمأن الناس وطابت الاخبار
الا ان الناس لقوا فى هذه السفره شدة عظيمة وقاسوا صعوبة فى الطريق
ووقعت اصابع اناس كثير من الثلج وناس ماتوا بالكلية ومنهم الاكرم بن

زنبور فانه وقعت اصابع يديه ورجليه من الثلج ومات بحران ليلة الميلاد وكثير
مثله ممن لا يعرف وممن يعرف وكانت الرهبان قد جرت لهم تجربة عجيبة وهو
ان جماعة من الصبيان قد صاروا يلبسون الثياب الصوف ويتزيون بزى الرهبنة
وهم فى المدن متصرفون ليحتموا من الجزيه فنمى امرهم الى السلطان فرسم
بانه اى راهب لا يكون مقيما فى دير منقطعا فى البرّية مشهود له بذلك توخذ
جزيته وما احتاج النوابِ والمستخدمون اكثر من هذه الكلمة ومدوا ايديهم
الى الرهبان وصاروا يمسكون الصالح والطالح وياخذون المشايخ الذين لهم
خمسون سنة فى البرية واستادوا من جزيتهم جملة كبيرة * تزيد على الف ٣١٨ (ظ)
دينار وخصوصا بالغربية لانه كان فيها رجل ناظر من اهل اسكندريه يقال له
ابن القرمسينى وكان مبغضا فى النصارى فجعل وكده الرهبان واكثرهم فى
اعمال الغربية وهى بلاد جراياتهم ودياراتهم فى ذلك الحين فأنالهم اذية عظيمة
وكان هذا ادباً من الله لانهم ما كانوا بقوا مستقيمين واما الرهبان الصغار فانهم
كلهم رجعوا الى ما كانوا عليه وقلعوا الثياب الصوف اذ لم تغن عنهم من
اداء الجزيه ولما جا السلطان عز نصره اجمع جماعة من رهبان الديارات وجاءوا
الى باب السلطان بهدية على قدر حالهم مما يليق بالرهبان فكتب لهم بماية وخمسين
اردبا غله وسمع بخبرهم رهبان دير القصير الملكية فاحضروا الاخر هديه من
النسبه فامر لهم بماية اردب غله وبقى الرهبان ملازمين باب السلطان مدة وبعد
ذلك خرج الامر بان يكتب لهم بان يجروا على عادتهم بشرط انهم لا يخفون
عندهم احداً ممن يجب عليه الجزيه ولا يرهبون احداً الا بعد تنزيله فى الديوان
وممن يستحق الرهبنه ويدخل فيها لطلبِ الله تعالى لا لاجل جزية ولا شدة
لحقته واخذوا الكتاب المذكور ومضوا به الى الغربية ولم يفدهم شياً واستمر ابن
القرمسينى على ما هو عليه والرهبان فى الشدة الشديدة وكانت هذه تجربة من الله
تعالى جآء بها عليهم لاجل سوء تصرفهم فى الرهبنة ولما كان فى العاشر من بوونه
ورد كتاب السلطان عز نصره الى الامير جمال الدين بن يغمور نايبه فى القاهرة
من ثغر الاسكندريه المحروس لان السلطان كان خرج الى الثغر المذكور فى
هذه المدة لاجل طيبة هوايه ولين فنايه فورد كتابه المذكور يطلب القسيس
داود بن لقلق ان يمضى اليه ولا علم احد من كان السبب فى ذلك لانهم علموا

انه انما طلب للبطركيه الا ان راهبا مرشارا شابا من اهل الصعيد كان قد توجه مع الشيخ عماد الدين شيخ الشيوخ الى ثغر الاسكندريه وكان للشيخ المذكور عناية بالقسيس داود وكان يتردد اليه الى الدير الذى كان مقيما به وهذا الراهب المرشار هو الذى احضر الكتاب المشار اليه فقيل انه هو الساعى وانه قرر مالا على البطركيه وكان قصد القسيس داود ان يجعل قمصا فى مصر قبل خروجه الى الثغر لانه كان له رغبة عظيمة فى هذا الامر وما كان يتلثم فيه ولا يتكتم فاشار جماعة من العقلا ان هذا ما هو مصلحة * وربما افسد ما يريد ان يتم لان السلطان ما رسم الا بتسييره لا غير واتفق الحال على ذلك ولم يكن بقى فى الكراسى من الاساقفة سوى خمسة ثلاثه فى الوجه القبلى اسقف طحا واسقف ارمنت واسقف اسنى وكان قد عجز وكبر وصار كالميت وفى الوجه البحرى اثنان اسقف مليج وهو كبير الاساقفة يومئذ واسقف دمنهور فاحضر اسقف مليج على انه يجعله اقمصا وكان اسقف ارمنت بمصر لانه كان بالقدس ووصل وحصّل الرهج من جماعة المصريين وكثر القال والقيل الا انه لم يجسر احد ان يتظاهر بشىء وكان بمصر بكنيسة بو سرجه رجل راهب يعرف قبل رهبانيته بالسنى ابى المجد بن القسيس ابى الفرج من بيت بن غليل فترهب بدير انطونيوس وعاد منه لما استدعاه السلطان واستخدمه فى ديوان النظر على الديار المصريه واقام سنين وهو راهب ثم انفصل منه وقعد فى الكنيسة المذكورة لانه كان شماساً بها قبل رهبنيته وكان رجل جليل القدر مسموع القول عند المسلمين لاجل ما اسلفه اليهم من الخير فى ايام تصرفه ولانه كان متنزها ناسكاً وكان قد صار مثل البطرك وكان الناس يحتكمون اليه وامره نافذ فى الكنايس فى الديارات وممتثل فى الرهبان وغيرهم وحكمه جايل فى الاوقاف وكان قد سعى فى عمارة كثير من الكنايس وثمر اوقافها فعظم عليه هذا الامر واغتاظ منه غيظاً عظيما وصار يتوهم فى كل من يعرفه وكل من يقرب منه ويظن ان له باطنا فى تقلمة داود والامر بضد ذلك حتى وصل من حرجه الى انه صار يسبّ ويشتم ويتكلم بما لا يليق بعلمانى عاقل ان يتكلم به لا سيما شيخ راهب مثله وكان هو قد اعاد الحديث فى معنى أبى البدر بن الموتمن الذى تقدم ذكره وكتب مدرجاً ياخذ فيه خطوط الجماعة بما يقوم به كل واحد مساعدة فى اقامة البطرك لانه علم انه بعد ان

٣١٩ (ج)

وصلت الامور الى هذه الغاية ما يقوم البطرك الا بشىء ووافقه على ذلك جماعة
واكثرهم كتبوا خطوطهم بما تيسر لهم وفيهم من كان فى وقت الحقيقة يضاعف
ما كان كتب به خطه وكان هذا الامر داعياً لداود ولاصحابه الى تجديد الحديث
وتجريده والمسابقة وبذل الجملة الكثيرة والنقدة المعجلة المميزة وكان ممن وافقه
على ابن الموتمن ورفض داود بالكلية الشيخ نش الخلافة بو الفتح والحكيم
الرشيد بو الوحش بن الفارس فلما جرى لداود ما جرى اتّهما * بان لهما باطنا ٣١٩ (ظ)
معه كما اتهم غيرهما حتّى ان الشيخ بو الفتوح طلع اليه يوم ميلاد يوحنا المعمدان
ثلثين من بوونه ليفتقده فجرى عليه منه من السفه والشتم والقذف بالقبايح
التى لا يستحسن الانسان ان يخطرها بباله فضلا عن ان ينطق بها وكان ذلك
بمحضر من جماعة قسوس وغيرهم وكان مطلع كلامه معه ان قال له هذا مسيلمة
الكذاب ثم خرج من ذلك الى ما لا يتسع ذكره وهذا مسيلمة فهو رجل يزعم
المسلمون انه رجل ادعى النبوه بعد نبيهم وظهر كذبه الا ان الشيخ ابا الفتوح
لزم لفظه اكثر من الراهب وبعد ذلك ما انفصلا حتّى اصطلحا وضرب كل
منهما الاخر المطانوه واما القسيس داود فانه توجه الى الاسكندريه فى يوم
الخميس الثالث من بوونه ومعه اسقف مليج فاما اسقف ارمنت فاعتذر بالمرض
ولم يخرج لانه خشى ان لا يتم له شى ووصل القسيس داود الى اسكندريه
يوم الاثنين السابع عشر من بوونه واجتمع بالسلطان عز نصره فى يوم الثلثا
على موضع يعرف ببوقير وتقررت له البطركيه وقام بالف دينار وحملها الى
الخزانه معجلة ولم تكن معه وانما دبرها بقرض وغيره وكتب خطه بألفى دينار
اخرتين الى شهرين وقدم اقمصا فى يوم السبت الثانى والعشرين من بوونه
بكنيسة بوشنوده المعروفه بكنيسة السباع خارج البلد وكمل فى يوم الاحد
بطرريكا بكنيسة السوتير وسير اليه السلطان خلعة حسنة وهى ثوب عتابى
ازرق بطراز ذهب وبعيار ذهب وطرحه وحكى الحاضر انه كان يوماً مشهوداً
وان اكثر غلمان السلطان وخدامه كانوا حاضرين وانه كان مجداً لم ير مثله من
زمان وفى يوم الاثنين الرابع والعشرين من بوونه ركب وخرج الى دار ابن
السكرى التى فيها راس مرقس الانجيلى وقيل انها راس بطرس بارومرتيرس
لان راس الرسول الانجيلى كانت مع جسده لما نقله الروم الى البندقيه فاخرج له

على العاده وكان لهذا الراس ما اخرج ثمانى واربعين سنه مدة مقام انبا يوحنا
نيح الله نفسه ثمانى وعشرين سنة ومدة التعطيل بعده فى الزور والفرق والبدع
عشرين سنة ووضع فى حجرة وكساه كسوة جديدة على جارى العاده واقام
البطرك المذكور بالاسكندرية مدة ثم خرج منها الى دير بومقار وكرز فيه قسوساً
وشمامسة ورتب فيه تراتيب واقام فى كل دير يوماً ويومين ثم جآء الى دير نهيا
فى يوم الخميس * الثانى عشر من ابيب ثم وصل الى دير الشمع فى يوم الجمعه ٣٢٠ (ج)
ثانيه وقدّس فيه وجآء يوم السبت الى كنيسة ميكائيل راس الخليج بمصر
وفيها لقيته انا الحقير وسلمت عليه واخذت بركته واقام بالكنيسة المذكور ذلك
النهار وبات بها واهتم به اهل الكنيسه المذكورة اهتماماً حسناً وهم كلهم من اهل
البهنسا واصبح يوم الاحد ركب من الكنيسة المقدم ذكرها وحضر اليه من
القاهرة ومصر وما حولها امم لا تحصى واجتمع من الامم الغريبة المسلمون
واليهود خلق عظيم حتى كانوا ممتدين ملء الطريق وعلى الدكاكين والفرج
والاسطحة من ميكائيل الى المعلقة ورفعت الصلبان قدامه على العيدان والاناجيل
فى ثنى الابرسفارنيات وكان الشمامسه والكهنة يجتمعون احزاباً احزاباً خمسين
خمسين واكثر من ذلك واقبل يقراون قدامه المدايح والتسابيح والاراخنه ركاب
البغال والخيل قدامه ونايب والى مصر واكثر اصحابه قدامه معهم وجآت طبول
وبوقات وشبابه ضربن قدامه وكان قدامه زهآ ماية شمعه موقوده واكثر وكان
يوماً ما شهر وما روى فى جيلنا مثله ولما جآء ما عبروا به من الخراب على
الزقوقين بل جاوا به على دار وكالة دار الملك وسيرا به من راس السوق الكبير
الى القلعة وطلع اليها فى يوم الاحد الحادى والعشرين من ابيب المقدم ذكره
وكرز بها وطلع الى السنترانس وقرى الانجيل المعروف للبطاركة وهو الذى فيه
انا هو الراعى الصالح وهو من يوحنا وفسرته انا الخاطى عليه وكان من الايام
المشهورة المشهودة ثم من بعد ذلك اجتمع جماعة من المسلمين وانكروا ما عمل
واستبشعوا حمل الصلبان على رووس الاشهاد وسط النهار فى الاسواق وتحدثوا
فى هذا واكثروا وحملوا رجلا فقيهاً متميزاً يعرف بعوض البوشى على ان كتب
رقعة الى السلطان فشكوا فيها ما جرى فوقع مولانا السلطان عليها الى والى مصر
بان يحضر البطرك ويوقعه على مضمون الرقعة ويتقدم اليه ان لا يتعدى على

الشريعة ويعود الى مكانه ففعل الوالى ذلك واحضره وكان عنده رجلا معلم كان
فى مسجد من المساجد التى فى الطريق التى عبر عليها البطرك وكان قد لبى وغوث
وشعث وقام الصبيان الى عنده بالالواح التى بايديهم وفيها القران ليستجيشوا
ويستثيروا الشرّ * فلم يوثر ذلك لان العالم كان عظيما ومهابة السلطنة شديدة ٣٢٠ (ظ)
لا سيما ونايب الوالى وغلمانه قدام البطرك فلما حضر البطرك عند الوالى كلمه
المعلم المذكور وقال انت رفعت الصلبان وفعلت وصنعت فقال ما علمت شياً
مما صنع وكنت محمولا من كثرة الناس ولا اعلم ما كان تم وعاد الى المعلقة ومعه
جماعة من غلمان الوالى لان المسلمين كانوا وقفوا فى الطريق وقصدوا ان
يعبثوا به فما مكنوا ذلك وعاد الى كنيسة المعلقة بكرامة ووقار وكانت تيك الليلة
ليلة عيد القديس مرقوريوس وقد اهتموا له فى كنيسته بالساحل بما ينبغى
لاجل العيد والبطرك فامتنع من الرواح اول الليل لانه بلغه ان جماعة وقفوا
على باب الكنيسة وعبثوا بالنصارى العابرين اليها ومنهم من رجموهم ومنهم
من لوثوا ثيابهم ولما كان بعد العشا الاخير جاء كهنة بو مرقوره ومعهم غلمان
الوالى واستدعوا الى الكنيسة المذكورة وقال له غلمان الوالى ما سيرنا الامير
الا فى خدمتك نقوم ونحن قدامك ومن تعرض الى شىء جازيناه وكنت انا عنده
اذ ذاك فاشرت عليه بان لا يروح فصرف غلمان الوالى بعد ان شكره وشكرهم
وقمت بين يديه الى ان جاء الى كنيسة بو سرجه وطلع الى قلاية الاب الراهب
انبا بطرس المعروف قبل رهبنته بالسنى بو المجد وطيب قلبه وازال ما فى نفسه
من الوحشة وتفضل فى ذلك غاية التفضل وعاد بعد ذلك الى المعلقة مشكوراً
ماجورا ثم ان شيوخ كنيسة بو مرقوره جاءوا اليه عند ذلك واخذوه بغير اختياراً
منه الى كنيستهم فبات بها وعيد ثانى يوم وكان عيداً عظيما على ما بلغنى لانى
لم احضره ولم يجر بحمد الله شىء مما كان يتوقع ولا شاب العيد شايب وكان
ذلك اليوم الخميس وكانت عادة الفقها ان يحضروا عند مولانا السلطان عز
نصره ليلة الجمعة فاجتمعوا عنده على العاده واجروا ذكر النصارى وركوبهم
البغال وامر ما جرى من حديث البطرك فلم يصغ الى شىء من ذلك ولما كان
يوم السبت كان والى مصر قد حضر بين يديه فانكر عليه وقال بلغنى ان اهل
مصر تعرضوا الى البطرك والى كنايسه واقسم بالله لئن جرى شى من هذا فكان

قبالته الا روحه واشتهر هذا الامر لكل احد * واطمانت نفوس المومنين ٣٢١ (ج)
وقوى نفس البطرك مع ان الساده المسلمين ما فيهم الا من ساعد واحسن
السفاره وانما هذا كان من العوام وبعض الفقهآ ثم جآء الى كنيسة حارة الروم
بالقاهرة فى نهار يوم الاحد الثامن والعشرين من ابيب واهتم له بها ارشد باقتها
الشيخ فخر السعد بن زنبور وكان ايضا يوماً مشهودا وكان الناس يظنون انه
ياخذ الشرطونيه من كل من يكرزه لاجل المبلغ المقدر عليه فلم يجز الامر فى
ذلك على نظام ولا بشرط وكان يجنى من الناس على قدر قدرتهم بغير عسف
ولا حيف وشرع فى تكريز الاساقفة على الكراسى الخاليه وكرز فى يوم الاحد
الخامس من مسرى بكنيسة بو مرقوره اربعة اساقفه على كرسى سمنود واسنى
والواح والبنوان واستمر تكريز الاساقفة والقسوس والشمامسة والرهبان والعلمانيين
واستقرت القاعدة على انه لا يكرز احداً الا بشرطونيه وكان فى الاساقفة
من يزن المايتى دينار واقل الى المايه دينار والفقير والصاحب خمسين دينار والذين
من هذه البابه اثنان او ثلاثة والا الجميع من البابة الكبيرة ولم يتكرر من الاساقفة
احد بغير شرطونيه سوى مطران دمياط الذى كان قد ترهب وكان يعرف قبل
رهبنته بالعميد بن الدهيرى وكان قد جا من الشام وسكن مع البطرك المذكور
قبل بطركيته بدير القدس فيلاتاوس المعروف بدير النسطور فانه لم ياخذ منه
شيا واما القسوس فكان فيهم من يزن الخمسة دنانير الى ما دونها والشمامسة
ممن كان يكون له خصم او مناصب يقوم بالعشرة الدنانير واكثرهم من ثلثة
دنانير الى دونها وكانت قضية مستنكره الا انها قد شاعت وذاعت وعرفت
والفت ثم انه صرف بعض اولاد الثوانى والثوالث واقام الحجه فى امرهم
فجات هذه مع الشرطونية فانحرف الراهب انبا بطرس المعروف بالسنى قبل
رهبنته ولم يرجع يحضر معه فى كنيسة ولا ياخذ له بركه مع ان الشيخ نش الخلافه
ابا الفتوح المعروف بابن الميقاط قد تغير قلبه من جهته وصار لا يصل اليه
ولا يسلم عليه بعدما كان بينه وبينه مما تقدم شرحه متقدماً .

ثم دخلت سنة اثنين وخمسين وتسع مايه وكرز البطرك المذكور منذ بطركيته
والى ان دخل الصوم من هذه السنة ما يزيد عن اربعين اسقفاً فاما من الشمامسة
والقسوس فما لا يعد وكان العذر فى اخذ الشرطونيه ما قرر السلطان وتغلق الذى

للسلطان وحمل هو كمال ثلثة الف دينار والحال على ما هو عليه وكان السلطان
اعز الله نصره قد بلغه خروج بعض عسكر الروم والمسلمين قد قصدوا اطراف
٣٢١ (ظ) بلاده بالمشرق فخرج الى الشام بالعساكر والجحافل فاما اولئك * فانهم نزلوا
على امد واقاموا عليها جمعه من الزمان فلم ينالوا منها طايلا فرحلوا عنها الا ان
احرقوا زراعاتها واحرقوا رساتيقها ثم جاو الى السويدا اخذوها بمخامرة ممن
كان بها لانه باعها لهم ثم انتقلوا الى الرها فاخذوها بالسيف وقتلوا اكثر من
كان منها واسروا وسبوا وكان اكثرهم المساكين نصارى سريان وارمن وحاصروا
القلعة اياماً فاخذوها بالامان من غلام من غلمان السلطان يقال له كويح يقال
انه صالحهم عليها لانها كان بها مال عظيم وسلاح وقماش يناهزماية الف دينار
فاخذوها واخذوه معهم ثم انتقلوا الى حران اخذوها واخذوا قلعتها بالامان
ثم ان السلطان اعز الله نصره عدى الفرات فتركوا فى كل قلعة من يحفظها وتوجهوا
الى بلادهم بعد ان اسروا وقتلوا واخربوا ما شا الله فسير السلطان عسكر الى
دنيسر وبلاد ماردين لان صاحبها كان مع الرومى فاخربوا البلاد واسروا العباد
واخذوا من الكسب ما لا يحصى حتى ان المراة المستحسنه بيعت بخمسين درهما
نقره والبغل الجيد بثلثين درهما والخروف بدرهم ووصل سبيهم الى القاهرة
ومصر ثم عاد السلطان الى حران ونزل على قلعتها وحاصرها اياما وامتنعت فنصب
عليها منجنيق مغربى فاخذها بالسيف واسر كل من فيها وكانت عدتهم تزيد
عن سبع ماية رجل وسيروا الى القاهرة فى القيود والكبول وانتقل الى الرها
نزل على قلعتها وكانت احصن وامنع من قلعة حران فلم تمسك مع المنجنيق
المغربى لانه هد منها بدنه يوم علق عليها فاخذت ايضا بالسيف واخذ من بها
اسرى ووصلوا ايضا الى القاهرة وكانوا زها الف رجل وكان النيل قد بلغ
فى هذه السنة الى ثمانية عشر ذراعاً واحدى عشر اصبعا وكانت الاسعار رخيصه
والاشيا موجوده ولم يكن فى البلد شى غاليا سوى السكر فانه كان بثلثة دراهم
الرطل واتفق فى هذه السنة ان وقع فى الديار المصرية وباء عظيم وخصوصاً
بالقاهرة ومصر وضواحيها حتى انه كان يخرج فى كل يوم من البلد ما يزيد
عن مايتى ميت واستمر هذا من النصف من بابه الى اخر امشير وكان شيا
ما شوهد مثله وقل من لا مرض فى هذه السنة ولم يكن فى البلدين بيت لم يخرج

منه ميت ثم رفع الله ذلك عن الناس وبقيت عقاب الامراض وكان الى جانب الكنيسة المعلقة مسجد وفيه مادنة عاليه وهو مجاور للطبقة التى سكن فيها الاب البطرك وهى كانت قلاية انبا مرقس بن زرعه نيح الله نفسه وكان فيه موذن يسمى سالم ولا شك انه ما كان ينصف من جهة من كان يتولى احوال البطرك



there happened in this year that there occurred in the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah) a great pest, and particularly at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) and their suburbs, so that there were taken out every day from the city what exceeded two hundred dead. And this continued from the half of (the month of) Bâbah [1] up to the end of (the month of) Amšîr [2]; and it was something the like of which had not been witnessed, and there were few who (were) not sick in this year, and there was not in the two cities [3] a house from which no dead person went out. Then God removed this from the people, but there remained traces of the sickness. And there was at the side of the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah [4] a prayer-house (Masǧîd), and at it a high minaret, and it was adjacent to the storey [5] on which the father, the patriarch was dwelling, and it was the cell (κελλίον) of Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Marḳus) [I]bn Zaraʿah [6] — may God give rest to his soul! And there was at it (the prayer-house) a muezzin (Mû'adhdhin) named Sâlim, and there was not a doubt that he was unjust with regard to those who were managing the affairs of the patriarch.

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(1) = September 28th-October 27th, Julian Style.

(2) = January 26th-February 24th, Julian Style.

(3) *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

(4) Cf. page 1, note 6.

(5) Since the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah is built on two bastions of the Roman Castle at Babylon (cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 14-15, 23), the storey in question would have been at about the same level as that part of the minaret from which the muezzin calls for prayer.

(6) *Mark* III, Patriarch of Alexandria, 1166-1189 A.D.

and they took him [1] with them. Then they betook themselves to Harran (Ḥarrân) [2]; they took it and they took its fortress by treaty. Then (it was) that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — passed over the Euphrates (al-Furât); and they [3] left in every fortress him who should guard it, and they turned to their lands, after they had taken prisoners and killed and devastated, as God willed. And the Sultan sent troops to D. . îr [4] and the land of Mardin (Mârdîn) [5], because their possessors were with the Rûm (ar-Rûm) [6]. And they devastated the lands and they took captive the people, and they took in the way of booty what could not be counted, so that a beautiful woman was sold for fifty silver dirhams, and an excellent mule for thirty dirhams, and a sheep for one dirham; and their captives arrived at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr). Then the Sultan returned to Harran (Ḥarrân) [2], and he descended at its fortress, and he besieged it for some days, and it resisted, and he set up a Western mangonel, and he took it by the sword, and he took captive all who were in it. And their number was more than seven hundred men, and they were sent to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in fetters and shackles. And he (the Sultan) betook himself to Edessa (ar-Ruhâ) [7], and he descended at its fortress, and it was more fortified and more impregnable, than the fortress of Harran (Ḥarrân) [2], but it did not withstand the Western mangonel, for it demolished of it its curtain [8], the day it was set up against it, and it (the fortress) was also taken by the sword. And there were taken from it captives, and they arrived also in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and they were nearly a thousand men. And the Nile (an-Nîl) had reached in this year up to eighteen cubits and eleven fingers, and the prices were cheap and things were found, and nothing in the city was expensive, except sugar, for it cost three dirhams the raṭl. And

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(1) *I.e.* the young male slave.
(2) Cf. page 111, note 1.
(3) *I.e.* the troops of the Sultan of the Rûm.
(4) *Sic. lege?* Dyarbekir.
(5) Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, Carte 3.
(6) Cf. page 146, note 9.
(7) Cf. page 50, note 5.
(8) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 59.

and up to the beginning [1] of the Lent [2] of this year what exceeded forty bishops, and as for the deacons and the priests, they were not to be counted. And the excuse for taking simony (χειροτονία) (was) what the Sultan had fixed for him; and what (was due) to the Sultan was completed, and he (the patriarch) bore the whole three thousand dînârs (to the Sultan), and conditions were as before. And news reached the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — of the coming out of some troops of (the Sultan of) the Rûm (ar-Rûm) [3], and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) set out for the borders of his (the Sultan's) lands in the East. And he (the Sultan) departed to Syria (aš-Šâm) with the troops and great armies. And as for those [4], * they descended at Amid [5] and they remained before it for the space of a week [6], and they did not obtain any advantage from it, and they departed from it, except that they burned its plantations and they burned its surrounding villages [7]. Then they came to Suwaîda [8], and they took it through treason from him who was in it, because he sold it to them. Then they proceeded to Edessa (Ruhâ) [9], and they took it by the sword, and they slew the majority of those who were in it, and they took prisoners and they made captives, and the majority of them were wretched (people), Syrian (Suryân) and Armenian (Arman) Christians (Naṣârâ). And they besieged the fortress for some days, and they took it by treaty from one of the young male slaves [10] of the Sultan called Kûîḥ [11]. It is said that he made peace with them concerning it, because there was at it great wealth and arms and vesture, approaching one hundred thousand dînârs. And they took it

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(1) *Lit.* 'entry'.
(2) *Lit.* 'Fast'.
(3) Cf. R. GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 20.
(4) *I.e.* the troops of the Sultan of the Rûm.
(5) Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 7.
(6) *Lit.* 'a week of time'.
(7) Cf. A. DE BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, vol. II, p. 252.
(8) Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 7.
(9) Cf. R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, Carte 3.
(10) *Lit.* 'a young male slave of the young male slaves'.
(11) The third letter of this name is without diacritical points.

and there were among the bishops those who would weigh out two hundred dînârs, and the least (was) up to one hundred dînârs, and the poor and the companions, fifty dînârs; and those who (were) of this category (were only) two or three, otherwise, all (were) of the major category. And not one of the bishops was consecrated without simony (χειροτονία), except the metropolitan (Muṭrân) of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [1], who had been made a monk, and was known before his monasticism as Al-'Amîd Ibn ad-Duhaîrî. And he had come from Syria (aš-Šâm), and he had lived with the mentioned patriarch before his patriarchate at the Monastery of Saint Philotheus (Fîlâtâûs), known as the Monastery of the Nestorians (Naṣṭûr) [2], and (it was) that he (the patriarch) did not take from him anything. And as regards the priests, there were among them, those who would weigh out five dînârs and downwards, and (as regards) the deacons, if one of them had been adverse or antagonistic to him, he would pay ten dînârs, and the majority of them (paid) from three dînârs downwards, and it was a disgraceful affair, nevertheless, it became common and widespread and known and usual. Then (it was) that he allowed some of the children of second and third (marriages) (to be ordained) [3], and he furnished an excuse for their affair, and this came together with simony (χειροτονία). And the monk, Abba (Anbâ) Peter (Buṭrus), known as As-Sanî before his monasticism, turned away (from the patriarch), (and) he was not present again with him in his church, and he did not accept a blessing. Even the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfat Abû'l-Futûḥ, known as Ibn al-Mîkaaṭ changed his heart towards him (the patriarch), and it was (that) he did not go to him and did not greet him after what had happened between them [4], in the way of what has been explained before. Then the year nine hundred and fifty-two [5] entered, and the mentioned patriarch had consecrated since his patriarchate

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

[2] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

[3] According to the Canon Law of the Coptic Church, children of a second or third marriage are excluded from ordination.

[4] *Lit.* ' between him and between him '.

[5] = 1236 A.D.

Sultan) said : «News reached me that the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr) acted against the patriarch and his churches», and he (the governor) sware by God that nothing of this had happened, and (that), if anything of this had happened, he (the doer) would have paid for it with his life [1]. And this matter became known to everyone *, and the souls of the faithful were reassured, and it strengthened the soul of the patriarch. Though among the Muslim (al-Muslimîn) lords there were not except those who aided and were good intermediaries, this (hostility), however, was from the common people and from some of the jurisconsults. Then he (the patriarch) came to the Church of the Ḥârat ar-Rûm [2] at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in the daytime of Sunday, the twenty-eight of (the month of) Abîb [3], and its archdeacon (ἀρχιδιάκων), the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Fakhr as-Sa'd Ibn Zanbûr, provided for him, and it was also a remarkable day. And the people thought that he would take simony (χειροτονία) from all whom he ordained, on account of the amount (of money) which was fixed for him; but he did not carry out this matter concerning this as a rule or as a condition, and he used to collect from the people according to their ability without injustice or oppression. And he began with the consecration of the bishops of the vacant sees, and he consecrated on Sunday, the fifth of (the month of) Misrâ [4], in the Church of Abba ([A]bû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) [5], four bishops, for the See(s) of Samannûd [6] and Isnâ [7] and the Oases [8] and Al-Banawaîn [9]. And he continued with the consecrating of bishops and (the ordination of) priests and deacons and monks and the laity. And the rule was established that he would not consecrate anyone, except with simony (χειροτονία),

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(1) *Lit.* 'his spirit'.
(2) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 75-80.
(3) = July 22nd, Julian Style.
(4) = July 29th, Julian Style.
(5) Cf. page 33, note 4.
(6) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.,* pp. 411-412.
(7) Cf. E AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.,* pp. 172-175.
(8) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.,* pp. 289-292.
(9) Cf. E. AMÉLINEAU, *op. cit.,* pp. 86-87.

amîr did not send us, except for thy service. Arise, and we (shall go) before thee, and he who opposes in anything, we shall punish him». And I [1] was with him at that time, and I [1] advised him that he should not go, and he dismissed the young male slaves of the governor (al-Wâlî), after he had thanked him and had thanked them. And I [1] remained before him [2], until he came to the Church of Abba ([A]bû) Sergius (Sarǧah) [3], and he went up to the Cell (κελλίον) of the father, the monk, Abba (Anbâ) Peter (Buṭrus) who was known before his monasticism as As-Sanî [A]bû'l-Maǧd; and he (the patriarch) appeased his heart and he removed what was in his soul in the way of cheerlessness, and he displayed extreme favour in this. And he returned after that to (the Church) Al-Muʿallaḳah [4], thanked and recompensed. Then (it was) that the elders (aš-Šiyûkh) of the Church of Abba ([A]bû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) [5] came to him thereupon, and they took him, (he being) unwilling, to their church, and he passed the night at it, and he celebrated the feast on the next day, and it was a magnificent feast, according to what reached me, for I [1] was not present, and nothing occurred, — praise be to God! — of what was anticipated, and nothing [6] spoiled the feast, and that day was Thursday. And it was the custom of the jurisconsults that they should be present with our Sire, the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — on the eve of Friday, and they assembled with him according to the custom. And they made mention of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and their riding mules [7] and the affair which had occurred from the conversation of the patriarch, but he (the Sultan) did not listen to anything of this. And when it was Saturday, the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) was present before him [8] (the Sultan), and he (the Sultan) pretended not to know about it (the affair). And he (the

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[1] *I.e.* the writer.
[2] *Lit.* ‘ between his hands ’.
[3] Cf. page 136, note 1.
[4] Cf. page 1, note 6.
[5] Cf. page 33, note 4.
[6] *Lit.* ‘ and a spoiling did not spoil ’.
[7] At various periods the Christians were forbidden to ride horses and mules.
[8] *Lit.* ‘ between his hands ’.

the prayer-houses (al-Masâǵid)[1] which was on the way by which the patriarch had passed by. And he had murmured and had shouted and had made an uproar, and the young boys had risen up (and had come) towards him (the teacher) with the writing-tablets which (were) in their hands, and on them (the writing-tablets) (were verses of) the Ḳurân, so that they might rouse (the people) and stir up a quarrel, * but this produced no effect, because the crowd[2] was immense, and the awe of the Sultan was great, especially (as) the representative of the governor (al-Wâlî) and the young male slaves (were) before the patriarch. And when the patriarch came to the governor (al-Wâlî), the mentioned teacher spoke to him and said : «It was thou (who) didst cause the crosses to be carried[3] and thou didst it and arranged it. And he (the patriarch) said : «I knew nothing of what was done, and I was borne through the multitude of the people, and I did not know what happened». Then he (the patriarch) returned to the (Church) Al-Muʿallaḳah[4] with honour and respect. And that night was the night of the feast of Saint Macarius (Marḳûrîûs)[5], and they provided for him (the patriarch) in his (the patriarch's) church on the shore[6], according to what was requisite for the feast and the patriarch. And he (the patriarch) refused to go at the beginning of the night, because news had reached him that a group was standing at the door of the church and was treating with disdain the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) who were passing by to it, and some of them pelted them with stones and some of them threw dirt on their robes. And when it was after the final supper, there came the priests of (the Church of) Abba (Abû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah)[7] and with them the young male slaves of the governor (al-Wâlî), and they prayed him (to come) to the mentioned church, and the young male slaves said to him : «The

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[1] *Lit.* 'a prayer-house of the prayer-houses'.

[2] *Lit.* 'the world'.

[3] *Lit.* 'to be raised'.

[4] Cf. page 1, note 6.

[5] Markûrîûs (Mercurius) must be a scribal error, since this day, the 22nd Abîb, (= July 16th, Julian Style) is the feast of Saint Macarius.

[6] This must have been the Church of Saint Mercurius, as is shown later.

[7] Cf. page 33, note 4.

(the patriarch) came, they did not pass with him by the ruins at the two lanes, but they came with him towards the hostel [1] of the King's House (Dâr al-Malik), and they walked with him from the top [2] of the Great Market [3] to the Castle [4]. And he went up to it on Sunday, the twenty-first of (the month of) Abîb [5], the aforementioned, and he was consecrated at it. And he ascended the synthronus (*σύνθρονος*), and he read the Gospel appointed for patriarchs, and it is that in which (there is) « I am the Good Shepherd » [6], and it is from John (Yûḥannâ) [7]. And I, the sinner, read the interpretation of it [8], and it was (one) of the remarkable, famous days. Then, after that, there assembled a group of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and they disapproved of what had been done, and they found unsightly the carrying of the crosses in full view, in the middle of the daytime, in the markets [9], and they discussed about this, and they multiplied (their words), and they compelled a distinguished jurisconsult known as ʿAwaḍ al-Bûšî to write a paper to the Sultan, and they complained in it about what had happened, and our Sire, the Sultan, appended his signature to it, (and sent it) to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), that he should bring the patriarch and cause him to put his signature to the contents of the paper, and order him not to transgress the law [10], and that he should return to his place; and the governor (al-Wâlî) did this, and he caused him (the patriarch) to come. And there was with him (the governor) a man, a teacher, (who) had been in one of

[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 838.

[2] *Lit.* ‘ head ’.

[3] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[4] *I.e.* the Ḳaṣr aš-Šamʿ on two of the bastions of which is built the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah.

[5] = July 15th, Julian Style.

[6] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*, pp. 80 and 90.

[7] *I.e. John* x, 1-16.

[8] According to the rubric, cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 90, this Gospel is read first in Greek and then in Coptic.

[9] اسواق can also mean ‘ quarters ’ and ‘ streets ’.

[10] *I.e.* the Islamic religious law.

on Saturday to the Church of Michael (Mîkhâyil) at the head of the Canal in Cairo (Miṣr) [1], and I, the wretched one [2], met him at it, and I greeted him, and I received his blessing. And he remained at the mentioned church that day, and he passed the night at it, and the congregation of the mentioned church took great care of him [3], and they were all of them from the inhabitants of Al-Bahnasâ [4]. And when it was the morning of Sunday, he (the patriarch) rode from the afore-mentioned church; and there came to him from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) and what (was) around them countless people, and there gathered from the alien nations, the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) and the Jews (al-Yahûd) great multitudes [5], so that they were spread along all the way, and at the shops and the open spaces and the house-tops from (the Church of) Michael (Mîkhâyil) [1] up to the (Church) Al-Muʿallaḳah [6]. And the crosses were carried [7] before him on staffs and the Gospels in the fold of the Prospherein veils (προσφέρειν) [8], and the deacons and the priests were assembled in groups of fifty and more than this. And he came, (and) they were reciting before him hymns and praises, and the archons (ἄρχων) were riding on mules and horses before him, and the representative of the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) and the majority of his companions with them before him. And there came drums and trumpets, and flutes were playing before him (the patriarch). And there were before him about one hundred lighted candles or more, and it was a remarkable day, the like of which had not been related in our generation. And when he

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[1] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[2] This is most probably the Yûḥannâ Ibn Wahib Ibn Yûḥannâ Ibn Bûlus, a friend of David, who is mentioned on p. 6.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ cared for him a good caring ’.

[4] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

[5] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[6] Cf. page 1, note 6.

[7] *Lit.* ‘ raised ’.

[8] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 23 and G. Graf, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, p. 2.

head of Mark (Markus) the Evangelist [1]. And it was said that it was the head of Peter (Buṭrus) the beatified martyr [2], because the head of the Apostle, the Evangelist, was with his body, when the Venetians (ar-Rûm) transported him to Venise (al-Bundukîah) [3]. And it was brought out for him according to the custom. And, as regards this head, it was forty-eight years (that) it had not been taken out, the period of the occupation (of the Throne) of Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûḥannâ) [4] — may God give rest to his soul! — twenty-eight years, and the period of the vacancy after him, (passed) in falsity and division and contriving, twenty years. And it (the head) was placed in a room, and he (the patriarch) enveloped it in a new covering according to the custom [5]; and the mentioned patriarch remained at Alexandria for a time. Then he departed from it to the Monastery of Abba ([A]bû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [6], and he ordained in it priests and deacons, and he made in it some arrangements; and he stayed in every monastery a day or two. Then he came to the Monastery of Nahyâ [7] on Thursday, * the twelfth of (the month of) Abîb [8]. Then he arrived at the Monastery of the Beacon [9] on Friday, a second time, and he celebrated the Divine Liturgy in it and he came

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[1] For the preservation of the head of Saint Mark in a private house, cf. also *H.P.E.C.*, vol II, Part. III, pp. 265-267 and 275-276.

[2] Cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, Louvain, 1954, p. 21 = ὁσιομάρτυρ. This Saint is Peter, the Crown of the Martyrs, Patriarch of Alexandria from 300-311 A.D.

[3] The two Venetian merchants who removed the body of Saint Mark from Alexandria to Venise were Buono di Malamocco and Rustico di Torcello, in 828 A.D. Cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, first edition, p. 114.

[4] 1189-1216 A.D.

[5] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*, p. 83.

[6] Cf. page 89, note 7.

[7] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 312 and O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, first edition, pp. 244-245.

[8] = July 6th, Julian Style.

[9] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-195.

and with him the bishop of Malîğ [1]; and as for the bishop of Armant [2], he excused himself on account of illness, and he did not depart, because he feared that nothing would be achieved for him (David). And the priest David (Dâûd) arrived at Alexandria on Monday, the seventeenth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [3], and he met the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — on Tuesday at a place known as Abû Ḳîr [4], and the patriarchate was assured to him. And he undertook (to pay) a thousand dînârs, and to bear them to the Treasury speedily; and he had not them (the dînârs), but he arranged for them through a loan and other than it, and he wrote his signature for another two thousand dînârs after two months. And he was ordained [5] hegoumenos (Aḳummuṣâ) on Saturday, the twenty-second of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [6] in the Church of [A]bû Šenouti (Šanûdah) known as the Church of the Lions [7] outside the city; and he was made patriarch on Sunday at the Church of the Saviour (Σωτήρ) [8]. And the Sultan sent to him a beautiful robe of honour, and it was a violet [9] robe with gold embroidery and with gold cord, and a head-dress [10]. And he who was present related that it was a remarkable day, and that the majority of the young male slaves of the Sultan and his servants were present, and that it was a glory, the like of which had not been seen for a long time. And on Monday, the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [11], he (the patriarch) rode, and he went out to the house of Ibn as-Sukkarî [12] in which (was) the

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(1) Cf. page 135, note 6.
(2) Cf. page 135, note 4.
(3) = June 11th, Julian Style.
(4) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* p. 34.
(5) *Lit.* ' advanced '.
(6) = June 16th, Julian Style.
(7) Cf. E Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 36.
(8) Cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern,* first edition, p. 116.
(9) *Lit.* ' bluish-wine '.
(10) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 32 and R.P.A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes,* pp. 254-262.
(11) = June 18th, Julian Style.
(12) Cf. page 12.

he knew that after matters had reached this point, the patriarch could not be set up, except with something [1], and a group agreed with him on this. And the majority of them wrote their signatures for what was in easy reach for them (to pay); and among them (were) those who had at the appropriate time doubled what they had written with their signature. And this matter was a reason for David (Dâûd) and his companions to renew the discussion and to expose it and (also) the payment in advance and the expending of large amounts and prompt, specific payment. And among those who agreed on Ibn al-Mû'taman and (who) rejected David (Dâûd) completely were the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah [A]bû'l-Fatḥ and Al-Ḥakîm ar-Rašîd [A]bû'l-Waḥš [I]bn al-Fâris. And when there occurred what occurred with regard to David (Dâûd), the two of them were accused * that they were secretly with him (David), as others than the two of them were accused, so that, (when) the elder (aš-Šaîkh) [A]bû'l-Fatûḥ went up to him on the day of the Nativity of John (Yûḥannâ) the Baptist, the thirtieth of (the month of) Bâû'ûnah [2] to visit him, there befell him from him (David) in the way of insolence and reviling and defamation with obscenity what was not fitting that a man should think of them [3], much less that he should utter them. And this was in the presence of a company of priests and of others than them, and the prelude to his speech with him (was) that he said to him : «This is Musaîlîmah the false one» [4]; then he (David) proceeded from this to what was too much to mention. And this Musaîlîmah was a man (whom) the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) thought that he was a man who laid claim to prophecy after their Prophet, and his falsehood was manifested. Yet, the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû 'l-Fatûḥ held his tongue more than the monk. And after that, no sooner had they separated, than they were reconciled, and each of them made an obeisance (*μετάνοια*) to the other. And as for the priest David (Dâûd), he turned to Alexandria on Thursday, the third of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [5],

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[1] *I.e.* a sum of money.

[2] = June 24th, Julian Style.

[3] *I.e.* such expressions.

[4] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs,* p. 141.

[5] = May 28th, Julian Style.

at the Church of Abba ([A]bû) Sergius (Sarǧah)[1], a man, a monk, known before his monasticism as As-Sanî Abû'l-Maǧd, son of the priest Abû'l-Faraǧ, from the house of [I]bn Ghalîl. And he had become a monk at the Monastery of Antony (Anṭûnîûs)[2], and he had returned from it, when the Sultan had summoned him and had employed him in the Dîwân of Superintendence of the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah), and he had remained for some years, being a monk. Then he resigned from it (the Dîwân), and he resided at the mentioned church, because he had been a deacon at it before his monasticism. And he was a man of high esteem, (and his) words were hearkened to by the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) on account of what he had previously done for them in the way of good in the days of his superintendence, and because he was continent (and) ascetic, and he had indeed become like a patriarch. And the people used to take him as an arbitrator, and his command was carried out in the church (and) in the monasteries, and it was obeyed by the monks and other than them, and his decision concerning inalienable endowments circulated. And he had made endeavours for the (re)building of many of the churches and for the fructification of their inalienable endowments, and this matter was hard for him to support and he was greatly angered[3] by it. And he began to suspect everyone whom he knew and all who approached him and thought that he was in secret for the consecration[4] of David (Dâûd). And the matter was the contrary of this, to the extent that out of his rage he reached to (a point) that he began to insult and to revile and to speak what was not befitting an intelligent layman, especially an elder (Šaîkh) (and) a monk such as he. And it was he who had returned to the discussion concerning the question of Abû'l-Badr [I]bn al-Mû'taman who has been mentioned before. And he wrote a scroll receiving on it the signatures of the group for what[5] everyone was going to do in helping in the setting up of the patriarch, because

[1] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 18-23.

[2] Cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts,* pp. 31-88.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ he was angered a great anger ’.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ advancement ’.

[5] *I.e.* what amount of money.

(aṣ-Ṣaʿîd) had gone with the elder (aš-Šaîkh) ʿImâd ad-Dîn, an elder (Šaîkh) of the elders (aš-Šiyûkh), to the port of Alexandria, and the mentioned elder (Šaîkh) was solicitous for the priest David (Dâûd), and he used to go to him frequently to the monastery at which he (David) was staying. And this monk, the ghostly father, was he who brought to him the letter referred to, and it was said that it was he who had made endeavours (for him), and that he had declared (that) the money (would be paid) by the patriarchate [1]. And it was the intention of the priest David (Dâûd) that he should be made hegoumenos (Aḳummuṣ) in Cairo (Miṣr) before his departure to the port [2], because he had a great eagerness in this matter, and he used not to conceal nor hide it. And a group of intelligent people pointed out that this was not expedient * and, perhaps, it might be prejudicial to what he (David) wished to achieve, because the Sultan had ordered only his journey, nothing more, and the matter was agreed upon thus. And there did not remain in the sees, in the way of bishops, except five, three in Upper Egypt (al-Waǧh al-Ḳiblî) : the bishop of Ṭaḥâ [3], and the bishop of Armant [4], and the bishop of Isnâ [5], and he was old and aged, and he had become as a dead man. And in Lower Egypt (al-Waǧh al-Baḥrî) : two bishops : the bishop of Malîǧ [6], and he was the senior [7] of the bishops at that time, and the bishop of Damanhûr [8]. And he (David) had brought the bishop of Malîǧ [6] that he might make him (David) a hegoumenos (Aḳummuṣ). And the bishop of Armant [4] was at Cairo (Miṣr), because he had been at Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) and had arrived. And there occurred a tumult by a group of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), and there was much talking, but no one ventured to manifest anything. And there was at Cairo (Miṣr),

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ the money on the patriarchate ’.

(2) *I.e.* Alexandria.

(3) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-472.

(4) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167.

(5) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-175.

(6) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-246.

(7) *I.e.* with regard to the date of his consecration.

(8) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-116.

a present according to the measure of the [1] condition which befitted monks, and he wrote for them one hundred and fifty ardabs of corn, and the monks of the Melchite (al-Malakîah) Monastery of Al-Ḳuṣaîr [2] heard of their news, and they brought another gift of like kind, and he (the Sultan) commanded for them a hundred ardab of corn. And the monks remained in attendance at the Gate of the Sultan for a time, and after that, an order went forth that there should be written for them that they should conform to their custom on condition that they should not conceal with them anyone of those upon whom the poll-tax was incumbent, and (that) they should not make anyone a monk, except after having registered him in the Dîwân, and from those who were worthy of monasticism and (who) enter into it for the sake of God the Exalted, not on account of the poll-tax nor of a calamity which has befallen him. And they took the mentioned letter [3], and they went with it to (the Province of) Al-Gharbîah [4], but it did not avail them anything. And Ibn al-Ḳaramsînî continued as before [5], and the monks (were) in great affliction, and this trial was from God the Exalted (who) brought it upon them on account of the evilness of their conduct in monasticism. And when it was the tenth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [6], there arrived the letter of the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — to the Amîr Ġamâl ad-Dîn [I]bn Yaghmûr, his deputy in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), from the port of Alexandria the protected, because the Sultan had gone out to the mentioned port at this time on account of the agreeableness of its air and the mildness of its climate. And his mentioned letter arrived, requiring the priest David (Dâûd) [I]bn Laḳlaḳ to go to him; and no one knew who was the cause of this — because they had been informed that he had been summoned for the patriarchate — if not, that a monk, a ghostly father, a youngman from the inhabitants of Upper-Egypt

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[1] *Lit.* ' their '.

[2] *I.e.* the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Saint Arsenius at Ṭurâ, cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,* pp. 145-153.

[3] *I.e.* the order of the Sultan.

[4] Cf. page 133, note 6.

[5] *Lit.* ' according to what was on him '.

[6] = May 28th, Julian Style.

the way; and the fingers of many people fell off by reason of the frost [1], and people absolutely died, and among them Al-Akram [I]bn Zanbûr. And (it was) that the fingers of his hands and (the toes of) his two feet fell off on account of the frost [1], and he died at Harran (Ḥarrân) [2] on the eve of the Nativity [3], and many like him of those who were not known and those who were known. And there befell the monks a strange tribulation, and it was that a group of youngmen began to wear the woolen robes and to don the monastic dress, and they were employed in the cities, in order to escape from the poll-tax. And their affair came to the knowledge of the Sultan, and he ordered that from any monk (who) did not remain in the monastery, cut off in the desert, (and who) had a certificate of this, his poll-tax should be taken. And the officials and the employés did not need more than this word, and they stretched out their hands against the monks, and they began to seize the good and the bad, and to take the elders (aš-Šaîkh) who had spent [4] fifty years in the desert. And they took from their [5] poll-tax a great sum * exceeding a thousand dînârs, and, especially, in (the Province of) Al-Gharbîah [6], because there was in it a man, an overseer, from the inhabitants of Alexandria, called Ibn al-Ḳarmasînî, and he was detested among the Christians (an-Naṣârâ). And he made the monks his preoccupation, and the majority of them (were) in (the Province of) Al-Gharbîah [6], and it was the district of their poll-tax and their monasteries at that time. And he afflicted them with great affliction, and this was a chastisement from God, because they had not remained upright. And as regards the young monks, all of them returned to what they had been, and they removed the woolen robes since they did not dispense them from paying the poll-tax. And when the Sultan came — may his victory be empowered! — a company of the monks of the monasteries assembled, and they came to the Gate of the Sultan with

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[1] The term ثلج is applied to snow, ice or anything resembling this.
[2] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* p. 282.
[3] *I.e.* the Nativity of our Lord.
[4] *Lit.* ' to whom (were) '.
[5] *I.e.* the monks '.
[6] Cf. E. Améliteau, *op. cit.,* pp. 186-187.

a robe of honour on anyone except Al-Malik al-Muẓẓafar and Ṣawâb al-Khâdim, and he gave to each of them a mare to ride to the troops of the Sultan. And there was, on their way, the Monastery known as the Monastery of Barsuma (Barsûmâ) [1], and the Syrian (as-Suryân) monks went out to them, (and) they received them with provisions and good things, and they bore them on mules of the Monastery until they brought them to the troops. And there was for the monks from this affair great commendation with all the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And the Nile (an-Nîl) decreased in time, and the people were optimistic that it would be a prosperous year, and that the plantations in it would be excellent, because in the past year cultivation in it had not been successful. And the price of wheat was from thirteen dirhams the ardab down to seven dirhams the ardab, according to the high grade and the inferior (grade), and barley, at five dirhams the ardab, and beans (al-Fûl), at six (dirhams) and rambling vetch like it, and linseed, at ten dirhams the ardab, and turnips and clover in proportion, and all eatables and food-stuff (were) very cheap, and nothing was expensive at all. And the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil — may his victory be empowered! — returned to the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) Lands, and he went up to the protected Citadel [2] on Monday, the eighth of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ al-Awal (in the) year six hundred and thirty-two [3] which corresponded to the fourth of (the month of) Amšîr (in the) year nine hundred and fifty-one [4], and it was the first day of the Fast of the Inhabitants of Nineveh (Nînawâ) [5], and the people were tranquil. And the news was good, except that the people [6] met in this journey with great distress, and they suffered hardship on

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[1] This is probably the Monastery of Barsuma, the site of which has been discovered at Borsum Kalesi in Turkey, cf. J. Leroy, *Moines et Monastères du Proche-Orient,* Paris, 1958, p. 210.

[2] Cf. page 103, note 6.

[3] *I.e.* of the Hiǧrah.

[4] = Jan. 29th, 1235 A.D. Julian Style.

[5] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church,* p. 13.

[6] *I.e.* the returning troops.

(that) he had come to it with immense riches. And the Sultan — may his victory be empowered! — dispatched the son of his sister Al-Malik al-Muẓẓafar ·[I]bn Taḳî ad-Dîn, Possessor of Hamah (Ḥâmah)[1], as a relief to the Possessor of Kharpout (Khartbirt)[2], and with him a company of the most eminent of the amîrs such as Al-Bânyâsî and Ṣawâb al-Khâdim, et caetera; and they came to the city before the arrival of the Rumians (ar-Rûm)[3] at it, and they made it their rear. And the Rumians (ar-Rûm)[3] came, and they fought a most severe and bitter fight against him (the Possessor of Hamah). Then the company multiplied against them, because they did not have with them more than about three thousand horsemen. And they were routed and they returned to the city[4]. And as regards the Possessor of Hamah (Ḥâmah)[1], and the amîrs, and those of the amîrs who were with him of the amîrs, they sought refuge at the fortress. And as regards the soldiers and the young male slaves and the company, some of them were made captive, and some of them escaped, and some of them were killed, and they passed over to the fortress, and with them the Possessor of Kharpout (Khartbirt)[2]; and he had promised to them that at the fortress there was all what they needed, but they did not find at it anything. And it was said that it was a trick by him; and they endured and were patient in intense distress and great hardship for days, close on twenty days. And when they were convinced of perishing, they sent from their company an amîr * called Bahâ ad-Dîn [I]bn Malkîšû who had been the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to the King of the Rûm (ar-Rûm)[5] to seek for them the safety of their lives[6], and that they would deliver up the fortress. And he gave to them safety for their lives[6], especially; and they went out being in a most evil condition. And he did not bestow

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[1] Cf. page 94, note 4.
[2] Cf. page 130, note 5.
[3] *I.e.* the troops of the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm.
[4] *I.e.* Kharpout.
[5] Cf. page 130, note 7.
[6] *Lit.* ‘their souls’.

Fortress of Manṣûr [1]. Then he had passed by a hamlet called Raʿabân [2], and he had passed from it to Ad-Darabindât which the Arabs (al-ʿArab) name the mountain-passes, and he had arrived at the third mountain-pass with the troops and the crowds. And the troops were a large number, the like of which had not assembled; and it was said that he (the Sultan) reviewed about twenty-seven thousand soldiers, apart from those who followed them in the way of youngmen, attendants and Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân). And thing(s) were very expensive for them (the troops), because the Grecian (ar-Rûm) Lands [3] did not provide anything for them, and the Lands of Syria (aš-Šâm) were remote from them. And the Sultan saw that the affair had become difficult, and that the troops of the Rûm (ar-Rûm) [3] (were) before him, and he returned from there, and he crossed over from a place known as Ǧisr al-Khašab [4], making for the East. And the Possessor of Kharpout (Khartbirt) [5] (was) among those who were with him, and he had informed him that the way from his lands to the Grecian (ar-Rûm) Lands [3] was easy, but he who guided the Sultan on this way misled him; and the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — had purposed to cross over to the Rûm (ar-Rûm) [3] from there. And the year nine hundred and fifty-one of the Righteous Martyrs [6], entered, and the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) increased, and it reached up to eleven fingers above nineteen cubits, and the people were assured and good things multiplied and the prices became cheap. Then (it was) that the King of the Rûm (ar-Rûm) [7], and he was a Muslim (al-Muslim), the Possessor of Iconium (Ḳûniah) and Coloneia (Akṣar[yâ]) [8], was informed of the intention of the Sultan at Kharpout (Khartbirt) [5] and

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[1] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* Cartes 1, 3.

[2] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* Carte 3.

[3] *I.e.* the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm in Asia Minor.

[4] *I.e.* the Wooden Bridge.

[5] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* Carte 3.

[6] = 1235 A.D.

[7] *I.e.* the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm.

[8] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* Carte 1.

and it (the measure) was at the beginning of nine cubits. Then it decreased in the measure of half a cubit, and it stopped, and the price of corn went up to four dirhams the ardab. And there occurred in the evening of the day of Saturday, the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Abîb [1], which corresponded to the ninth of (the month of) Šawâl (in the) year six hundred and thirty-one [2], much cloud, and the sky became yellow, and it rained for a good hour, and the cloud remained the whole night; and this was among the strange things the like of which had not occurred. And the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) fulfilled its promise on Wednesday, the twenty-third of (the month of) Misrâ [3], and the increase was completed [4] in the mentioned daytime, in the presence of Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, son of the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil — may God empower his victory! — and the prices became cheap and they returned to their limits, except that produce was little; and all the fruits decayed because the past Nile (an-Nîl) had flooded them and its weeds had smothered them, and it (the inundation) had spoilt the fruits more than it had improved them, and it caused more losses than profits. And grapes were sold in this year for fifty dirhams the ḳanṭâr, and sugar candy, at four dinars and a half the ḳanṭâr, and different kinds of sweets in the same proportion. * And there was no pressing out (of grapes) by the people in this year, except by a very few. And he who used to do anything (of this) was content with the half on account of the dearness of the products. And the news arrived that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — had entered into the Grecian (ar-Rûm) Lands [5], and the good tidings were proclaimed [6] at the Citadel [7], concerning the victory and the conquest, and that he had taken from the Grecian (ar-Rûm) Lands [5] a fortress called the

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(1) = July 28th, Julian Style.
(2) = 1234 A.D.
(3) = August 16th, Julian Style.
(4) *Lit.* ‘made’.
(5) *I.e.* the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm in Asia Minor.
(6) *Lit.* ‘rung’.
(7) Cf. page 103, note 6.

who were unarmed at the Higaz (al-Ḥiğâz) (1), and the governors of the provinces, and those who had been delayed on account of travelling, and none other. And he (the Sultan) went out from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) on the eleventh of (the month of) Bašuns (2) of this year, and his brother, Al-Malik al-Ašraf Mûsâ, had preceded him by some days. Then he ordered that his youngest son, Al-Malik al-'Âdil, should be viceroy (nâîb) for him, and he made him governor. And he rode with swords and the standard after his (the Sultan's) journey on Monday, the twentieth of (the month of) Bašuns (3) the aforementioned. And the group was discussing about the affair of the patriarch through the mouth (4) of an amîr called Aṣ-Ṣalâḥ al-Irbilî, and he demanded from them five thousand dînârs, and he promised them that he would deduct for them something of it. And he did not stir up their abilities by that, and the affair was not resolved; but they said that he (the Sultan) had recommended to his son Al-Malik al-'Âdil, that if they produced the amount (of money), thou mayest consecrate (5) for them him whom they choose. And some of the people continued (to hold) this opinion, but some said (that) it was not suitable, because (it would become) an innovation for the Church, and there would never be a change again; and their intentions were not sincere, and (there was) not agreement among them, except outwardly. And cheapness and safety continued, except that fruit in this year was very scarce on account of the flooding and the remainig of the water on the land for a long time. Then (it was) that the water increased in (the month of) Baû'ûnah (6) with a visible increase of two cubits, and there was at the bottom (of the river) a measure of six cubits. And there came the time for taking the standard of the bottom (7) at the blessed Nilometer, and it was the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah (8),

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(1) Province of Arabia.

(2) = May 16th, Julian Style.

(3) = May 25th, Julian Style.

(4) *Lit.* ' tongue '.

(5) *Lit.* ' advance '.

(6) = June 5th-July 4th, Julian Style.

(7) *I.e.* the height of the water at the bottom of the Nilometer.

(8) = June 29th, Julian Style.

twelfth of (the month of) Tût [1] four fingers, and it became nine (fingers) above eighteen cubits, and it increased on the sixteenth of (the month of) Tût [2] four fingers, (and) it became over seventeen out of eighteen cubits, and it increased on the seventeenth of (the month of) Tût [3], and it is the day of the Feast of the Cross [4], seven fingers, and it was completed at eighteen cubits. And it increased on the eighteenth (of the month) [5] six fingers towards nineteen cubits, and its maximum increase was ten fingers above nineteen cubits. And it became stabilized on the land at the end of (the month of) Bâbah [6], so that it was thought that it would not decrease. Then it decreased by one (cubit), and the people sowed, and they were optimistic, after it had flooded many lands and had ruined extensive cultivations. And it was a magnificent Nile (an-Nîl), and prices became cheap, and first-class wheat was sold at nine dirhams the ardab, and the barley at five (dirhams) and less, and below that, and all the cereals were in proportion; and nothing, at that time, was expensive, except meat and poultry, and this was through the cutting off of the ways, because the Nile (an-Nîl) had flooded all the land. And in this year, the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil — may his victory be empowered! — prepared for departure to the East, and he expended on the troops a great amount of money, so that dirhams passed through Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in the baskets of the carriers to the houses of the amîrs. To each amîr in proportion to his equipment, because, if there were with the amîr one hundred horsemen, the hundred were given two thousand dînârs, to every horseman twenty dînârs, * and the amîr a thousand dînârs, and to all of them in this proportion. And among them (were) those for whom he (the Sultan) marked out more than this, such as his personal circle and others than they, though not less, and there did not remain he who did not receive this provision, except those

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[1] = September 9th, Julian Style.

[2] = September 13th, Julian Style.

[3] = September 14th, Julian Style.

[4] Cf. page 116, note 10.

[5] September 15th, Julian Style.

[6] = September 28th-October 27th, Julian Style.

and (as regards) the [1] inheritance from one another [2], no interfering hand might come between them. And, likewise (as regards) the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and the Jews (al-Yahûd), the pronouncements of their leaders were accepted regarding their lineage, and to him whom they mentioned that (he was) of the family, there should not be opposition. Then the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) came up, and something appeared the like of which had not been known, and this was that the two rivers [3] met below Roḍah [4] on the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Abîb [5], and the water reached the dam of the Canal [6] on the twenty-ninth of it [7]. And it reached its flood-measure on the six of (the month of) Misrâ [8], and the increase stopped, and it fulfilled its promise, and it reached the measure on Friday, the nineteenth of (the month of) Misrâ [9], which corresponded to the third of (the month of) Dhû'l-Ḳa'dah (in the) year six hundred and thirty [10]. And the Canal was cut [11] on the day after that mentioned, and there had not been seen a Nile (an-Nîl) more marvellous than it; and among its marvels was (that) it increased on the twenty-sixth of Misrâ [12], at the seventeenth cubit ten fingers, and it became seventeen out of seventeen (cubits), and on its second (day) seven fingers, and seventeen cubits were completed; and there entered the year nine hundred and fifty of the Righteous Martyrs [13]. Then it (the Nile) increased towards eighteen cubits on the

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[1] *Lit.* 'their'.

[2] *Lit.* 'one to another'.

[3] The Island of Roḍah causes the Nile to divide into two arms which meet again below it.

[4] *Lit.* 'the Island of Cairo (Miṣr)'.

[5] = July 18th, Julian Style. All the following dates are according to the Julian Style.

[6] *I.e.* the Canal of Cairo.

[7] = July 23rd.

[8] = July 30th.

[9] = August 12th.

[10] = 1232 A.D.

[11] Cf. page 112, note 11.

[12] = August 19th.

[13] = 1234 A.D.

and vesture and vessels which had not been given to anyone. And he gave to him as fief lands yielding forty thousand dînârs a year for his intimates, besides the produce, and he added to it the bread for two hundred horsemen, and he lodged him in a quarter of the House of the Wazirate (al-Wazârah) [1], known as the Secret Gate [2]; and all kings on the earth thanked him for this, and they acknowledged the goodness of his time and the correctness of his engagements. And a group of our companions were stirred up, and they assembled with the monks of the Monastery of Abba ([A]bû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [3], because it was Lent [4], and they agreed on the choice of the elder (aš-Šaîkh) John (Yûḥannâ) [I]bn al-Mu'taman [I]bn Abû'l-Badr, deacon of the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah [5], who was religious, ascetic and of noble works [6]. And they wrote for him reports, and all of them wrote their signatures in them. And they presented them to our Sire, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — and he ordered through the mouth [7] of the amîr Aṣ-Ṣalâḥ, that, if they agreed on him, he would be consecrated [8] for them. Then they disputed about it among themselves, and they did not do anything, and the matter broke up; and the monks went out to their monastery [9], * and the condition remained as it had been, except that these days were blessed days. The churches were repaired in the daytime by the permission of our Sire, the Sultan, and the legal decisions of the jurisconsults and the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) (were) honoured (and) upheld; (and the Christians) were riding on horses and mules, and no one demanded of them the contrary. And the Sultan had esteem for the monks, and he was gracious and good towards them;

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(1) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 171.

(2) Cf. *H.P.E.C.,* vol. II, Part I, p. 74, note 5.

(3) Cf. page 89, note 7.

(4) *Lit.* ‘the Fast’.

(5) Cf. page 1, note 6.

(6) *Lit.* ‘a possessor of religion and asceticism and beautiful deeds’.

(7) *Lit.* ‘tongue’.

(8) *Lit.* ‘advanced’.

(9) *I.e.* the Monastery of Saint Macarius.

silver [1] dirhams the ratl, and a basket of barley for two silver [1] dirhams, and chaff for forty silver [1] dirhams the camel-load, and it was not available; and the majority of the troops arrived on foot and naked to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) the protected. Then there arrived the command of the Sultan, on the date of Sunday, the end of (the month of) Kîhak [2] which corresponded to the twelfth of (the month of) Rabîʿ al-Awâl (in the) year six hundred and thirty [3], to stop the striking of silver (coins) and the dealing with them; and it was cried concerning them on Monday which followed the mentioned day. And they were sold from that day by the raṭl in the Coppersmiths Market [4] for two and a half dirhams and two and a quarter dirhams the raṭl, and the money became a quarter (of its value), and a large amount was lost to the people. Then they were sold after that for one dirham and a quarter the raṭl and a large amount (of money) was lost to the people; but they were happy at their abolition, so as to see the end of what had gone before. Then the news arrived of the capture of the Fortress of Kaîfâ [5] and of its surrendering to the Sultan. Then (it was) that he appointed as deputy in place of him in the lands of the East, and Amid [6] and its districts, and Harran (Ḥarrân) [7] and what was neighbouring to it, and Serug (Sarûǵ) [8] and what was with it, his son, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Aîyûb, who was his heir-apparent in Egypt (Miṣr). And he (the Sultan) arrived at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) the protected, in (the month of) Ǵumâdâ al-Akhar (in the) year six hundred and thirty [9], and there arrived after him in his service al-Malik al-Masʿûd who had been the Possessor of Amid [6], and with him his intimates and his family and his wealth and his harem. And our Sultan accorded to him unprecedented favour, and he gave to him in the way of wealth

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[1] Cf. page 120.
[2] Kîhak = November 27th-December 26th, Julian Style.
[3] *I.e.* of the Hiǵrah, and = 1233 A.D.
[4] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, Plate 31 and S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 126.
[5] Cf. page 123, note 8.
[6] Cf. R. Grousset, *l'Empire du Levant*, map facing page 87.
[7] Cf. page 111, note 1.
[8] Cf. page 113, note 5.
[9] *I.e.* of the Hiǵrah = 1233 A.D.

the dînâr reached to ninety silver dirhams, and the silver [1] dirhams to seven dirhams, and the people suffered from this. Then the year nine hundred and forty-nine [2] entered, and the Nile (an-Nîl) came up until it reached eighteen cubits, and its increase extended to the seventh of (the month of) Bâbah [3], and it increased in this month, (and) the like of its increase had not been witnessed. And this (was) that it increased on the second and the third and the fifth of it [4] two fingers, two fingers every day, and it was the cubit of the eighteenth on the sixth, and the seventh of it [4] was the last of its increase, every day three fingers. And the prices became cheap, and the wheat was sold at twenty dirhams the ardab of silver (money), and the barley at ten dirhams the ardab, and all things became cheap, except that the silver (coins) became much cheaper, and they reached to one hundred and twenty dirhams for a dînâr, and the silver [5] dirhams for nine silver dirhams. And the affair(s) became oppressive for the people, because the Dîwân of the Sultan did not extract from the people in all their dealings, except gold or black dirhams [6], and there did not remain in the hands of the people, except silver (coins), and they were in great affliction for this reason. And the news arrived that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — conquered Amid [7] and all its fortresses, and they were seventy-two fortresses, * and there did not remain of them, except one fortress named the Fortress Kaîfâ [8]. And there died in the beginning of this year Šams al-Milûk, son of the sister of the Sultan, and the Amîr Fakhr ad-Dîn ʿUthmân, equerry of the House, and a group of senior amîrs. And they (the people) experienced [9] a dearth to an extent not to be described; bread at three

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 710.

[2] = 1233 A.D.

[3] = October 4th, Julian Style.

[4] = September 28th and 29th and October 2nd, Julian Style.

[5] Cf. page 120.

[6] The black dirham had the value of three nâsrî dirhams, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 438.

[7] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 299.

[8] Kaifâ in Diyâr-Bekr, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 237 and the map facing page 1.

[9] *Lit.* ‘ there was with them ’.

not known. And the Sultan provided for them with analogous solicitude, and he appointed for them in the way of residence and treatment what was beyond description [1]. And the two of them had brought with them the robes of honour of the illustrious califate (al-Khilâfah) for the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — and for his relatives and his intimates, and the promise of the rule of the lands and of the mamluks (al-Mamâlîk) which (were) in the hands of our Sultan. And their arrival was the cause (and) the reason of the journey of the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — and the reports of this Calif (al-Khalîfah) were the best of reports in the way of justice and benevolence and avoidance of oppression and blame, and his restoration of what had been ruined from past time(s). And he surpassed in merit all men, so that gold multiplied in the hands of the people, and there came of it (the gold) to Egypt (Miṣr) a great quantity on account of the abundance of his generosity and benevolence to all his subjects and his intimates. Then (it was) that the Sultan, Al-Malik al-Kâmil, journeyed to protected Syria (aš-Šam) in (the month of) Baramûdah [2] of this year which corresponded to Ǧumâdâ al-Akhar (in the) year six hundred and twenty-nine [3], according to what has been mentioned before. And he made for the East and he made for Kay-Kubâd (al-Kâ Fur) [4], and he was repulsed before him, and he did not resist at all, and he departed from the lands. And the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — descended on Amid [5] and he besieged it. And the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) fulfilled its promise on the second of (the month of) An-Nasî [6] after it had stopped for many days, for the flood-water had reached it on the sixteenth of (the month of) Misrâ [7], and the completion was delayed after it up to this date. And money multiplied very much, and it cheapened until

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ the description falls short of its description ’.
(2) March 27th-April 25 Julian Style.
(3) *I.e.* A.H. = 1232 A.D.
(4) Cf. page 121, note 8.
(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* p. 229.
(6) = August 25th, Julian Style.
(7) = August 9th, Julian Style.

to an extreme [1], and he commanded that the priest and the wife of his brother and her sister should be sold. And they were cried in the market of the slaves [2]; and it was an affliction, the like of which had not been heard of. And a blessed man bought them, in origin [3] a Christian (Naṣrânî) from Syria (aš-Šâm) from the Maronites (al-Marûnîah), and he had professed Al-Islâm; and he bought them for sixty dînârs, and the people departed from them, and they collected it (the money) for them, and they redeemed them. And this man (the Maronite) was good to them to an extreme. And as for the priest, he went out to the Monastery of ʿArabah [4] and he remained in it; and (as for) the two women, one of the two of them was a nun, and both of them were saintly, and they were set free. And the Sultan journeyed with the troops to Al-Manṣurah [5] on the Feast of Easter of this year, and it was in Ǧumàdâ al-Akhar (in the) year six hundred and twenty-nine of the Lunar (Year) [6], and he went to Damascus (Dimašḳ) [7] and from Damascus (Dimašḳ) [7] to the East, because an enemy had gone forth against the lands of Persia (al-Fàris) and the ʿIrak (al-Irâḳ), known as Kay-Ḳubâd (Kâ Kuritrak) [8] in a great number, the number (of which) could not be counted; and he had defeated Khwarîzm Šâh and he had captured his lands and had ruined them, and he had reached to the limits of the lands of Baghdad (Baghdâd). And the Calif (al-Khalîfah), the Imâm al-Mustanṣir Abû Ǧaʿfar al-Manṣûr, sent from Baghdad (Baghdâd) to the Sultan two messengers of high rank, one of the two of them was turbaned, and the other * (was) with a triangular headdress [9], from his most confidential mamluks (Mamâlîk), and they had a suite and honour, the like of which for a messenger was

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ he disapproved of it an extreme disapproval ’.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* pp. 267, 269.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ his origin ’.

[4] *I.e.* the Monastery of Saint Antony. Cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts,* pp. 31-88.

[5] Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* p. 361.

[6] = 1232 A.D.

[7] Cf. page 94, note 3.

[8] This seems to be the name underlying Kâ Kuritrak, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* p. 229.

[9] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 742.

coinage) outside the Mint, (and) this was frequent and widespread. And it was exchanged [1], every sixteen coins for one black dirham, and there was not (a difference) between them and [2] the exchange in gold with dirhams, except half a dirham per dînâr or three-quarters [3] (of a dirham), and the people were satisfied [4] with them, and no one returned them. And the Sultan commanded that it should be proclaimed that they should not deal except with the coinage of the Sultan, and what appeared other than that would be clipped and rejected; and he appointed for this money-changers, and thereby there was much loss for the people. Then (it was) that its exchange became cheaper, and the dînâr became forty-five silver dirhams. Then it advanced gradually until it reached on the day of writing it [5], and it was the twenty-six of (the month of) Abîb [6], to eighty silver dirhams for a dînâr. And (as for) the black dirhams, every ten dirhams (was) for eighteen silver dirhams — the Egyptian (al-Miṣrî) dirhams being thirty silver (coins). And as for the silver [7] dirhams they were worth, every dirham, six dirhams and a quarter in silver. And there did not remain in the hands of the people except silver (dirhams), because the Dîwân of the Sultan would not accept them in any dealings, nor as a rent for property, nor as a surety, nor for selling and buying. And the work (of making) coinage in the Mint ceased, and as time passed, they became cheap. Then (it was) that there occurred in this year a marvellous happening, and this (was) that (there was) a man, a priest, an instructed monk, known as Abû Sa'îd [I]bn al-'Afîf, whose brother's wife had purchased a Greek (Rûmîah) female-slave from a Frankish (Frang̃î) man, (and) then she had sold her to a man of the itinerant merchants from the lands of the Franks (al-Farang̃). And when this (affair) reached our Sire, the Sultan, he disapproved of it

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(1) *Lit.* 'its exchange was'.
(2) *Lit.* 'and between'.
(3) *Lit.* 'a half and a quarter'.
(4) *Lit.* 'their souls were content'.
(5) *I.e.* this account.
(6) = October 24th, Julian Style.
(7) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 710.

cubits [1], and it was little [2], the like of which had not been related, and the water stopped all (the month of) Abîb [3]. Then it increased in (the month of) Misrâ [4], and it came to fifteen cubits; then it stopped (during) the Intercalary Month (an-Nasî) [5], and the people despaired of it. Then there entered the year nine hundred and forty-eight of the Righteous Martyrs [6] and the two canals [7] of Al-Manǵâ were cut for fear of the decrease of the water [8], and likewise all the large canals [9]. And God permitted its [10] increase, and it increased in (the month of) Tût [11], a thing (which) had not been known at all. And it (the Nile) came up to its measure on the ninth of it (Tût) [12], and its increase was completed at ten fingers above seventeen cubits. And all the lands were irrigated, because the Sultan had arranged the lands with an arrangement (which) no one had arranged. And the people of every occupation began to construct their causeways and to dig out their watercourses and to bring the water into them from distant places through the causeways which were made over them. And all the lands were irrigated, and there was not dried up of them except the high banks to which no attention is paid; and with that, (it was) that there was irrigated by this water what was not wont to be irrigated, except by eighteen cubits (or) nineteen cubits (of water), and all this was by the management of our Sire, the Sultan, and his good supervision. And (as for) the coinage, there was much falsification and deterioration in it, and it happened (that) * in Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣaʿîd) there were those who struck it (the * Fol. 315 r°

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(1) *I.e.* the water.
(2) *Lit.* ‘a little thing’.
(3) = June 25th-July 24th, Julian Style.
(4) = July 25th-August 23rd, Julian Style.
(5) = August 24th-29th, Julian Style.
(6) = 1232 A.D.
(7) *Lit.* ‘rivers’.
(8) *I.e.* of the Nile.
(9) *I.e.* the Niles.
(10) *I.e.* the Nile's.
(11) = August 30th-September 28th, Julian Style.
(12) = September 7th, Julian Style.

its width. And, likewise, he ordered in all the lands that their canals should be dug out and their causeways should be strengthened, and (that) there should be opened for them (the lands) new channels which would provide irrigation from the small branches of the Nile [1]; and all this (was imposed) on those who had fiefs and the inhabitants of the lands. Then he (the Sultan) ordered towards the end of (the month of) Amšîr [2] that the Canal (al-Baḥr) of Cairo (Miṣr) should be dug out from the side of the House of the King up to the mouth of the Canal of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he imposed this on the possessors of houses in Cairo (Miṣr) and Roda [3] which (were) at the canal (al-Baḥr). And they imposed this as a duty on the people, and they made it with measuring-rods, the measuring-rod being seven cubits long, to the width of four or five rods, according to the distance of the place from the canal (al-Baḥr) or its nearness, with a depth of fifteen cubits exactly; and the measuring-rod represented ten dînârs and more. And the price(s) fluctuated, and wheat reached to sixty dirhams the ardab, and barley, to thirty dirhams, and all the cereals in proportion. And the river (al-Baḥr) [4] dried up, the like of which had not been related, and the boulders [5] in it appeared from (the month of) Amšîr [6], and they scraped the small boats; and it was said that these (the boulders) which (were) at the bottom of the river (al-Baḥr) [7], at the time mentioned, (were) three and three-quarter [8] cubits. And the condition continued thus, and the prices (were) high, and the people (were) in great affliction, because their conditions were straitened to an extreme. And the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [9] came in which the conditions of the Nile (an-Nîl) are forecast; and at the bottom (there was) one and three-quarter [8]

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[1] *Lit.* ' the small Niles '.
[2] = January 26th-February 24th, Julian Style.
[3] *Lit.* ' the Island '.
[4] *I.e.* the Nile.
[5] Cf. R. Dozy *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 324.
[6] = February 8th-March 9th, Gregorian Style.
[7] *I.e.* the Nile.
[8] *Lit.* ' and a half and a quarter '.
[9] = June 19th, Julian Style.

to its end, some fingers which were of no avail for it, and the prices rose. And the Sultan ordered a price-control and that the wheat should not be sold, except at twenty dirhams the ardab, and he allotted to every granary a limited amount for the sake of the millers. And the people refrained from selling and procuring corn, and the affair became oppressive for the people, and bread became unobtainable in the markets; and if it were found, there would be in it, in the way of impurities, what is not to be described; afterwards, the taste and the smell were altered, because the people were not wont to sell the wheat, except the old and weeviled, and the millers were not wont to find other than it. And they used to make (it) secretly in this state and weeviled; and they were not able to buy anything, because the allottment (of the wheat was) for the millers, and they did not give anything of it to anyone. And the possessors of the wheat would not accept [1] to sell anything at this price [2], except under constraint; and this state remained till the beginning of (the month of) Hatûr [3], and wheat was lacking. And the Sultan ordered to set free the price, and on the day of its setting free it (the wheat) was sold for sixty dirhams the ardab. Then it (the price) went back to forty (dirhams), and it continued thus for a period. And as for linseed-oil, it reached to one hundred and two dirhams a jar, and then it went down to ninety (dirhams) and below this, and it continued thus, and it was the most profitable of the merchandise in this year; * and likewise what regards grains and turnips. And in (the month of) Ṭûbah [4] of the mentioned year, he (the Sultan) ordered to dig out the Canal of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) [5], and he imposed (this) on the possessors of houses and gardens which (were) at it, and the people accepted that and they suffered thereby much loss. And the House (ad-Dâr) [6] used to impose a fine of thirty dirhams and below it according to the value of the house and

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[1] *Lit.* 'their souls would not accept'.
[2] *I.e.* at twenty dirhams.
[3] = October 28th-November 26th, Julian Style.
[4] = December 27th-January 25th, Julian Style.
[5] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[6] *I.e.* the Government.

sequins [1] and a thousand dînârs in a purse, and he rode with that, and he went round Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr). And there entered the year nine hundred and forty-seven of the Righteous Martyrs [2], in the daytime of Thursday, the twelfth of (the month of) Šawâl (in the) year six hundred and twenty-seventh of the Lunar (Year) [3]. And the Nile (an-Nîl) [4] had stopped, and the people were distressed at that, and wheat was priced at twenty dirhams the ardab, and it was not sold, except to the millers according to the quantity they were wont to use, or by an allowance from the governor (al-Wâlî). And (as regards) grain, its price fluctuated, and bread was eight raṭls a dirham. And the Canal was cut [5], without (the river) being full, on Wednesday the seventh of (the month of) Tût [6] which corresponded to the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Šawâl (in the) year six hundred and twenty-seven [3], and it (the Canal) remained up to two days before it reached the Bâb al-Kharḳ [7], and after three days it reached up to the Wicket Gate (Bâb al-Khaûkhah) [8], and it stopped there. And the water reached up to twenty-three fingers above fourteen cubits; and no one drank in this year from the Canal, and no water-carrier drew water from it, and no ferry-boat was required on it, because it could be waded; and it decreased from the seventeenth of (the month of) Tût [9] which was the Feast of the Cross [10]. And there came in the mentioned (month of) Tût a heat, the like of which had not been seen. Then the Nile (an-Nîl) recovered some of the deficiency on the twenty-fourth of (the month of) Tût [11] up

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 749.

[2] = 1231 A.D.

[3] = 1231 A.D.

[4] *I.e.* the rising of the Nile.

[5] Cf. page 112, note 11.

[6] = September 4th, Julian Style.

[7] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 293.

[8] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[9] = September 14th, Julian Style.

[10] For the two feasts of the Holy Cross on September 27th and March 19th Gregorian Style, cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, pp. 16 and 264-268.

[11] = September 21st, Julian Style.

at twenty dirhams the ardab, and the barley at twelve dirhams the ardab, and likewise the beans (al-Fûl). And the Sultan took a decision about this, a decision the like of which had not been seen. Then God the Exalted was gracious, and He gave the Nile (an-Nîl) a great, uninterrupted drive from the eleventh of (the month of) Misra [1] up to the twentieth of it [2]; and it increased in ten days seven cubits, and the two rivers [3] were joined on Wednesday, the twenty-first of (the month of) Misrâ [4]. And it was the third (day) of the Feast of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), which was the Lesser Bairam ('Aîd al-Fiṭr), and the people rejoiced at this with a great rejoicing, and the prices decreased, and the people were happy [5], and they were optimistic for good things. And the Nile (an-Nîl) rose after this until the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Misrâ [6], and it used to increase every day half a cubit. Then its increase decreased till Sunday the second of the Intercalary Month (an-Nasî) [7], and it was the fourteenth of (the month of) Šawâl (in the) year six hundred and twenty-seven [8], and it (the Nile) stopped, and it had reached some fingers above fourteen cubits. And the news arrived concerning the defeat of Khwârizm (al-Khawârizmî) on Tuesday, * the sixteenth of (the month of) Šawâl of the mentioned year, which corresponded to the fourth of the Intercalary Month (an-Nasî) [9], and the good news about this was proclaimed [10] for three days. And there was bestowed upon the messenger who arrived from Damascus (Dimašḳ) [11] with the news, splendid robes of honour, and he was given a mare with a leathern apron [12] and gold

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(1) = August 4th, Julian Style.
(2) = August 13th, Julian Style.
(3) *I.e.* the two branches of the Nile formed by the Island of Roda.
(4) = August 14th, Julian Style.
(5) *Lit.* 'the hearts of the people were pacified'.
(6) = August 18th, Julian Style.
(7) = August 25th, Julian Style.
(8) *I.e.* A.H. = 1230 A.D.
(9) = August 27th, Julian Style.
(10) *Lit.* 'rung out'.
(11) Cf. page 94, note 3.
(12) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 637.

the winter had passed. And he (Khwârizm Šâh) advanced to it, and he fought against it, and he took it with the sword, and he killed in it a great company of soldiers and of the inhabitants of the town. Then he ceased killing them [1], and when the Sultan learned of this, he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) the protected, in (the month of) Baû'ûnah [2] which corresponded to the month of Rağab of the mentioned year, and he entered into it on the eighteenth day of it [3]. And his son, during the period of his absence, had been harsh on the common people, and he had oppressed the subjects, and he had begun to employ them on forced labour without wages in a garden and on a belvedere which he was building. And when the Sultan learned of this, he removed him, and he took those who were around him and those who were making this seem good to him. Some of them he fettered and some of them he beat, and he expropriated them, and some he exiled. And he caused to return to the dîwâns the employés, and he punished them for the acquittance of the money and the exaction of the rest of the affairs, and no one was in (such) affliction as they were. And he cast the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfat [A]bû'l-Fatûḥ into a dungeon a second time, because he had commanded him that he should go out to Alexandria and examine it. And he excused himself and he sought exemption from this, and he (the Sultan) was enraged against him, and he commanded him to be cast into the dungeon. And the Nile (an-Nîl) [4] stopped up to the end of (the month of) Abîb [5], and the price of corn fluctuated until it reached twenty dirhams the ardab of wheat, and of barley, ten dirhams and a half the ardab, and the people were alarmed at this. Then the Nile (an-Nîl) [4] stopped until the tenth of (the month of) Misrâ [6] came, and it was at four cubits. And wheat was sought for, and twenty-six or twenty-seven dirhams the ardab was paid for it. Then it was cried, and it was priced

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ he raised the sword from them ’.

(2) = May 26th-June 24th, Julian Style.

(3) *I.e.* Rağab.

(4) *I.e.* the rising of the Nile.

(5) = June 25th-July 30th, Julian Style.

(6) = August 3rd, Julian Style.

they decreased, and good things and provisions were plentiful. And Hamah (Ḥamâh)[1] surrendered peacefully, because its Possessor had departed from it, seeking the service of the Sultan, and that he might be conciliated with him, and precautions were taken against him. And those who remained behind him in the fortress saw that (there was) a separation between them and[2] him, and (that) there was nothing for them (to do) except to enter into communication with his brother, Al-Malik al-Muẓẓafar, and to cause him to come up to the fortress. And they delivered up to him the kingdom, at the beginning of (the month of) Šawâl of the mentioned year. And the Egyptian (al-Miṣrî) troops returned, and their leader (was) the amîr Fakhr ad-Dîn, equerry of the House, and they descended on Ba'albekk (Baʿalabak)[3], and they besieged it, but they did not remain at it, except for a few days, until they took the city, and it was a protection to the fortress for a long time, because its possessor was an elderly governor. And Al-Malik al-Ašraf caused the troops to descend on the mentioned fortress to besiege it, and to prevent him who would go up to it, or (that) provisions should be borne to it. And the troops in the service of the Sultan proceeded to Harran (Ḥarrân)[4], because the Sultan had gone before, at the time of the descent of the troops on Hamah (Ḥamâh)[1], and the Sultan had taken from Al-Malik al-Ašraf Harran (Ḥarrân)[4] and Edessa (ar-Ruhâ) and Sarug (Sarûǧ) and Raqqah (Raḳḳah) and Râz al-ʿAîn[5]. And he (the Sultan) stayed in the mentioned lands to guard them, and he directed their conditions. And Khwârizm Šâh came, * and he was the greatest king of Persia (al-Furs), and he descended on Khilat (Khilâṭ)[6], and he besieged it and he cut off from it provisions, and he took precautions against it. And he had, as regards armies, an incalculable (number), and he passed the winter at it, and its possessors were holding it tenaciously, until

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(1) Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 187.
(2) *Lit.* ‘ and between ’.
(3) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 649-657.
(4) Cf. page 111, note 1.
(5) Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 3.
(6) Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, Carte 2.

of his brother, Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [I]bn al-Malik al-Manṣûr [I]bn Taḳî ad-Dîn, because it was the promise to him from his father that it (should be) for him after him. And the death of his father occurred, and he was with the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil in the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) [1], at the time when the Franks (al-Afranğ) (were) at Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [2]. And he prevailed over him, as regards the right (of succession), and a blood brother to him, called Al-Malik an-Nâṣir, took precedence over him, and he remained at it (Damascus) for a period, and Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam used to support him. And when Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam died, and Damascus (Dimašḳ) [3] had been conquered, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — wished that every one should obtain his rightful due. And he gave orders to the troops, and they marched [4] with the mentioned Al-Malik al-Muẓẓafar, and they descended on Hamah (Ḥamâh) [5], and they attacked it, and they straitened it, but Al-Malik an-Nâṣir who was in it fortified the fortress and strengthened it. And it was an impregnable fortified fortress, and he stored up in it in the way of provisions what was sufficient for many years; and the town remained besieged, and (there was) fighting at it. And the Nile (an-Nîl) [6] at Cairo (Miṣr) stopped, and it decreased a few fingers, after it had reached the tax level [7], and the people distrusted it [8]. Then the year nine hundred and forty-six [9] entered, and the Nile (an-Nîl) came up to sixteen cubits at the beginning of (the month of) Tût [10], and it reached its measure a second time in the daytime of Thursday. And the Canal [11] was cut on the mentioned day, and it was a great day; and prices were lowered and

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ Egyptian lands ’.
[2] Cf. page 31, note 4.
[3] Cf. page 94, note 3.
[4] *Lit.* ‘ journeyed ’.
[5] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* p. 187.
[6] *I.e.* the rising of the Nile.
[7] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 251.
[8] *Lit.* ‘ the opinion of the people distrusted it ’.
[9] = 1230 A.D.
[10] Tût 1st = August 29th, Julian Style.
[11] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* pp. 145-146.

and Harran (Ḥarrân) [1] and Sarûǧ [2] and the fortress [3] and what comes after it, and the amîrs of the Sultan and his confidents went to deliver those. And when they delivered up these lands, (then) Al-Malik al-Ašraf would deliver up Damascus (Dimašḳ) [4]. And the Sultan (Al-Malik al-Ašraf) transferred from it (Damascus) to other than it. And the Nile (an-Nil) stopped (rising) in this year considerably [5], at its beginning, so that the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Abîb [6] came, and it was at five cubits. Then it flowed very much [7] from the twenty-sixth of it [8]. And the wheat and the corn were both of them expensive, and the wheat was sold at twenty dirhams the ardab in secret, because its sale was forbidden, except to those who were in need among the millers, at sixteen dirhams the ardab. Then the Nile (an-Nil) rose considerably [9] from the twenty-six of (the month of) Abîb [10], so that it used to increase daily twenty fingers or about that. And the two rivers [11] met on the night [12] of Thursday, the ninth of (the month of) Misrâ [13]. And the prices * decreased and the people were assured, and it (the river) reached the measure in the daytime of Tuesday, the twenty-first of the mentioned Misrâ [14], and cheapness increased, and the people were assured in the way of food and what resembled it. And, in these days, the news arrived that the Sultan had levied troops and had despatched them from Damascus (Dimašḳ) [4] to Hamah (Ḥamâh) [15] to take it and to deliver it up to the son

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[1] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 403.
[2] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, Carte 3.
[3] قرن can also mean ‘ high mountain ’.
[4] Cf. page 94, note 3.
[5] *Lit.* ‘ a great stopping ’.
[6] = June 19th, Julian Style.
[7] *Lit.* ‘ much flowing ’.
[8] *I.e.* Abîb.
[9] *Lit.* ‘ a great rising ’.
[10] = June 20th, Julian Style.
[11] *I.e.* the Nile and the Canal of Cairo.
[12] *I.e.* Wednesday evening.
[13] = August 2nd, Julian Style.
[14] = August 14th, Julian Style.
[15] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 187.

had taken some of the troops, and he turned to Damascus (Dimašḳ)[1] to descend on it; and the great Sultan, Al-Malik al-Kâmil, joined him, and they all descended together on it. And the troops from Syria (aš-Šâm) and the East assembled with them, and they straitened it, and they besieged it and they fought against it. And, in the meantime, news arrived of the death of Al-Malik al-Masʿûd, the Possessor of the Yemen (al-Yaman) and the Higaz (al-Hiǧâz), at Mecca (Makkah), because he had departed from the Yemen (al-Yaman), making for the Land of Egypt (Miṣr). And he brought with him all what he found, and all his rarities, and all what he had acquired, and (what) his predecessor had acquired in the course of time, and he despatched it by land and by sea, and he died at Mecca (Makkah). And his possessions and his treasures reached Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) the protected, and it was a great collection, not to be described. And praise (be) to the Living (One) Who dieth not! And there arrived his wives and his family and his male-slaves after that. And prices became cheap in Egypt (Miṣr), and they returned to their limits. And the besieging and the fighting continued at Damascus (Dimašḳ)[1], and messengers were coming and going between the Sultan and[2] the son of his brother, until it was decided that he should deliver up Damascus (Dimašḳ)[1], and should be satisfied with Al-Karak[3] and Sichem (Nâblus)[4] and Ghor (al-Ghûrr)[5] and Al-Balḳâ[6], and the rest of the land of Jerusalem[7]. And the Sultan received it on the eighth of (the month of) Šaʿbân (in the) year six hundred and twenty-six[8]. And it was decided, that Al-Malik al-Ašraf should give it (Damascus) on the condition, that there should be delivered to him Edessa (Ruhâ)[9]

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(1) Cf. page 94, note 3.

(2) *Lit.* ‘ and between ’.

(3) *I.e.* the Crac des Chevaliers, cf. illustration facing page 224 in R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades.*

(4) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.* pp. 470-473.

(5) Cf. page 108, note 3.

(6) P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* pp. 403 and 541.

(7) *Lit.* ‘ the Noble Ḳuds ’.

(8) = 1229 A.D.

(9) P.K. Hitti, *op. cit.,* pp. 369-370.

hundred ardabs and barley like it, or a little less; then it decreased a little, and the wheat became eighteen dirhams the ardab and the barley, thirteen dirhams. And it was spread abroad that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — had made peace with the Emperor [1], on the terms that he (the Sultan) would give to him (the Emperor) Jerusalem [2] and some towns of his (the Sultan's) districts, and they were those which are on the way from Acre (ʿAkka) [3] to him (the Emperor), and Bethlehem (Baît Laḥm) (was) among all these. * Then the rumour was confirmed, and the Emperor [1] received the city of Jerusalem [2] and Bethlehem (Baît Laḥm), and Lydda (Ludd) [4], and what came after that from Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) up to Acre (ʿAkkâ) [3], and Jaffa (Yâfâ) [5]. And it was in the course of this time that he (the Emperor) had (re-)built Caesarea (Ḳaîsârîah) [6], and Jaffa (Yâfâ) [5]. And the affair was confirmed between him (the Emperor) and [7] the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! And the Emperor [1] passed over to Jerusalem [8] at the beginning of the Noble Fast [9] of this year, and it was a great day, and they (the Muslims) received the (Dome of) the Rock [10]. Then the Emperor [1] stayed in Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) two days, not more, and he went out from it to Acre (ʿAkkâ) [3], and he remained at it until the completion of the Feast [11], and he appointed in the lands deputies whom he trusted, and he travelled by sea to his land [12]. And the Sultan, Al-Malik al-Ašraf,

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[1] *I.e.* Frederick II.

[2] *Lit.* ‘ the Noble House ’.

[3] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-635.

[4] The Arabic text has ‘ and Ludd ar-Ramlah ’. This must mean Lydda and Ar-Ramlah which is in close proximity to the former town, cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-82.

[5] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-69.

[6] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-430.

[7] *Lit.* ‘ and between ’.

[8] *Lit.* ‘ the Holy House ’.

[9] *I.e.* Lent.

[10] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-208.

[11] *I.e.* the Feast of Easter.

[12] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 228.

And the Sultan departed (and) he descended at Tall al-ʿAǧlûl [1], (and) he stayed in it, and Al-Malik al-Ašraf with him. And Al-Malik an-Nâṣir, son of Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, Possessor of Damascus (Dimašḳ) [2] returned to deliver up his land from Ghor (al-Ghûrr) [3] to Gaza (Ghazzah) [4], and there did not remain in the hand of the Sultan (anything) of Syria (aš-Šâm), except Gaza (Ghazzah) [4] and Daron (ad-Darûm) [5]. And there reached the Sultan at this dwelling [6] Al-Malik al-Muǧâhid [7], the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimṣ) [8], (and) he stayed with him for a time. And the messengers of the Emperor [9] were coming and going, and he was at Jaffa (Yâfâ) [10], and the messengers of the Sultan were coming and going to him also. And, in the meantime, Al-Malik al-Ašraf departed, and there departed with him the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimṣ) [8]. And confidents from the troops of Damascus (Dimašḳ) [2] used to come frequently for the service of the Sultan, and he would welcome them and would give to them (gifts); and he would bestow on them robes of honour and he would give to them fiefs. And a number did not come, and the last of those who came was ʿIzz ad-Dîn Aîdmar, and he was the noblest of their amîrs, and he held the rank of equerry of the House and more than that. And the Sultan gave to him in the way of favours what is not to be described, and he was generous to him, and he brought him nigh to him, and he raised his rank, and he gave to him, among all of what he gave to him, the house of the Companion Šukr in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) for a dwelling, and he treated him with great kindness. And at this time, corn fluctuated at Cairo (Miṣr), and wheat reached fifty dînârs for one

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[1] Cf. page 106, note 2.
[2] Cf. page 94, note 3.
[3] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 544.
[4] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.
[5] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[6] *I.e.* the camp.
[7] *I.e.* Al-Muǧâhid Šîrkûh II.
[8] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, pp. 307-308.
[9] *I.e.* Frederick II.
[10] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-69.

great honours, and messengers returned from the Sultan to them, and from them to the Sultan. And this Emperor [1] was a wise man, gracious, of good intention, and praiseworthy in reputation [2], and the condition continued thus. And the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — * bestowed on him gifts of precious stones and mules and dromedaries and camels and cloths, and besides this rarities of kings. And after that the Sultan departed from Sichem (Nâblus) [3]. and he returned to Magdalîâ, (and) he descended at it, and he transferred from the camp to villages in the neighbourhood of Ascalon ('Askalân) [4], and there, there reached him his brother, Al-Malik al-Ašraf, the Possessor of the East, on the day of the Feast of 'Aîd al-Aḍḥa (Bairam Ḳurbân) [5] of the year six hundred and twenty-five [6], and it was a remarkable day. And the messengers of the Emperor [1] did not interrupt (coming), and the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — sent to bring from Egypt (Miṣr) the elephant which Al-Malik al-Ma'sûd, the Possessor of the Yemen (al-Yaman) and the Ḥigaz (al-Ḥiğâz) had brought in company with a number of elephants, and there had not remained of them except it, because all of them had died. And he sent the mentioned elephant to the Emperor [1] and the Emperor [1] departed from Acre ('Akkâ) [7], and he descended at Jaffa (Yâfâ) [8] to rebuild it, after the building of Caesarea (Ḳaîsârîah) [9]. And the Nile (an-Nîl) of Egypt (Miṣr) reached in this year to twenty fingers above seventeen cubits. And prices were very slack in it (the year), and Syria (aš-Šâm) (was) the contrary of this. And the troops were in straits, and (there was) dearth, so that they sold their horses and their equipment.

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[1] *I.e.* Frederick II.

[2] Certainly not in the West. He was twice excommunicated.

[3] Cf. page 106, note 8.

[4] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55.

[5] *Lit.* 'the Feast of the Sacrifice'.

[6] = 1228 A.D.

[7] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-635.

[8] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-69.

[9] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-430, and R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, p. 327.

the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — started to journey to Syria (aš-Šâm), he and his troops, and he set out from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) on Sunday, the twenty-ninth of (the month of) Abîb [1] of the mentioned year. And he journeyed directly, and he descended at Tall al-ʿAǧlûl [2]; his dwelling [3], between Daron (ad-Darûm) [4] and [5] Gaza (Ghazzah) [6], after he had appointed as his representative in Egypt (Miṣr) his son, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâlaḥ, and had established him as Sultan in it, and had made him vicegerent in it. And there entered the year nine hundred and forty-five [7]. Then the Sultan transferred from Tall Al-ʿAǧlûl [2] from dwelling [3] to dwelling [3], until he reached Sichem (Nâblus) [8], and he stayed in it, and his armies went on directly to the castle of [I]bn Muʿîn ad-Dîn, and he passed by Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds), and the Littoral [9] from Daron (ad-Darûm) [4] up to the mentioned Castle. And, in the meantime, there arrived the Emperor [10] from the West in Cyprus (al-Ḳubruṣ) [11], and from Cyprus (al-Ḳubruṣ) (he went) to Acre (ʿAkkâ) [12], and his messengers came to the Sultan with precious gifts and a great suite. And they were two distinguished persons, one of the two of them was the Possessor of Sidon (Ṣaîdâ) [13], and the other, the Count Thomas (Tumâs), viceroy of the King [10], and the Sultan received them with a great reception; and all the troops rode on the day of their arrival, and they were accorded

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[1] = July 23rd. Cf. R. Grousset. *L'Épopée des Croisades,* p. 318.

[2] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* map facing p. 9.

[3] *I.e.* his camp.

[4] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* p. 46 and map 5 of R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant.*

[5] *Lit.* ' and between '.

[6] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 47-52.

[7] 1228 A.D.

[8] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 470-473.

[9] Cf. page 38, note 1.

[10] *I.e.* Frederick II.

[11] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades,* p. 318.

[12] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* p. 322.

[13] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 644-647.

and he descended at it, and the monks entertained him and all who were with him, and they multiplied for them * good things of what was found with the monks. And the Sultan was gracious to them, and he signed (an order) for them for five hundred ardabs of corn, three hundred of wheat and barley, and one hundred of beans (al-Fûl) and a hundred of chick-peas. And he honoured them and he drew them nigh to him, and he protected them [1], and he wrote for them an announcement, that he who became a monk should not be forced (to pay) a tax, and (that) he should not be requested (to do) it; and that whatsoever monk died, his inheritance (should be) for the monastic community, and (that it should) not (be) for the heirs according to the flesh [2] who belonged to him, and (that) there (should be) no vexation for it (the monastic community) from the dîwâns of the Sultan. And they spoke with him about the affair of the patriarch and they said to him : «O our Sire, we are without a patriarch, and our conditions have deteriorated, and there were at this monastery over eighty priests who (were) in it, and to-day (there are) only four, because there is not found he who has been ordained [3] in place of them». And he said to them : «Choose him whom ye will, and I shall advance him for you». They said : «O our Sire, we have no money, and the patriarch is asked (to pay) money». And he said to them : «Agree on him whom ye wish, and no one shall demand of you anything». And their decision was not confirmed for anyone. And the Sultan departed from them, and he was grateful to them, and thus the rest of the troops. Then (there occurred) the arrival of the messenger of the Sultan who had gone with the messenger of the Emperor [4], who had arrived in the Tax-Year, and there arrived with him another messenger on the part of the mentioned Emperor [4], except that he was not like that messenger in his honours, but he was below him; and he brought with him gifts of horses and cloths and jewels, and carnivorous animals [5], and he stayed according to the custom. And

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[1] *Lit.* ‘raised a screen before them’.
[2] *Lit.* ‘corporeal’.
[3] *Lit.* ‘advanced’.
[4] *I.e.* Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, 1194-1250 A.D.
[5] This word can also mean ‘blades, knives’.

son was presented [1], and he caused to be circumcised with him a crowd [2] of the sons of the people and of the beggars who had no means of support, in order to receive through them the forgiveness of God. And the affair took place, when he (the Sultan) descended at the Birkat al-Fîl [3], and he drank at it, and (there were) gifts and presents and favours and fuel of the two banks and garments for the people; and he launched boats [4] and fire-ships on it (the lake), as had taken place in the past year. And after that, the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — went out to the port of Alexandria to examine its conditions and to see after its affairs, because there was a rumour that the enemy [5] was active. And the news arrived in (the month of) Dhu'l-Ḥiǧǧah (in the) year six hundred and twenty-four [6] concerning the death of Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, Sultan of Damascus (Dimašḳ) and Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds), and of the enthronement [7] of his son Al-Malik an-Nâṣr after him in his kingdom. And the affair was settled for him [8], and condolence was offered [9] at Alexandria by the presence of the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil. And conditions remained as they had been before, and the prices were low and things were abundant and good (and) available, only the people were complaining of the insufficiency of the means of livelihood, and the lack of profit and the scarcity of the dirham and the dînâr. And in these days, at the end of (the month of) Kîhak [10], the Sultan, Al-Malik al-Kâmil returned from the port of Alexandria, and he made his way by the monasteries, the Monastery of Abba ([A]bû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [11] in the Wâdî Habîb [12],

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[1] *Lit.* ' appeared '.

[2] *Lit.* ' creatures '.

[3] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.

[4] Cf. page 99, note 2.

[5] *I.e.* the Franks.

[6] = 1228 A.D.

[7] *Lit.* ' sitting '.

[8] *Lit.* ' on his hand '.

[9] *Lit.* ' made '.

[10] The last day of Kîhak in this year was December 27th, Julian Style.

[11] Cf. page 84, note 7.

[12] *I.e.* the Wâdî 'n-Naṭrûn.

to pass by him (the Sultan), * every amîr in the order arranged for them, according to the paper that such a one (should come) after such a one, and such a one, after such a one, and no one might transgress this. And the first of those who passed was the Sire, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâlaḥ, son of the Sultan, because he was the head of the right (wing). And the amîrs continued to pass on Wednesday, the fifteenth of (the month of) Šawâl the aforementioned, from the prayer of the morning to the cry of the muezzin of the evening, rank after rank, so that there was no interruption of the passing by for one moment, except at the end of one [1] rank and the beginning of that one which (was) after it; the wings (of the army), and the dromedaries, and the troops and the chain-mail men, and those with the trappings [2], and the drummers [3], and the trumpeters, so that the earth quaked, and there were troops the like of which had not been related. Then the Sultan passed by in the evening, after the passing-by of them all. Then he ordered them that they should girth (their horses), and should ride in the daytime of Sunday, the nineteenth of (the month of) Šawâl which followed the aforementioned Wednesday, on account of the presentation [4] of the Sire, Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, his youngest son; and they dressed, and they rode, but not as on the first two days, but they were more limited than that, and they went forth in the direction of the Mosque (Ǧâmaʿ) [I]bn Ṭûlûn [5] under the Citadel [6], and they pranced, and a banquet [7] was made at the square which (is) there. And the Sultan descended from the Citadel [6] on horseback [8], and he passed by the ranks, and he passed by the banquet [7], and the commanded it (to commence), and the people snatched away it (the food) according to the custom, and he went up to the protected Citadel [6]. Then his

* Fol. 311 r°

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ this ’.
(2) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 795.
(3) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 435.
(4) *Lit.* ‘ appearance ’. His little son was to be presented to the people.
(5) Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-124.
(6) Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-210.
(7) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 684.
(8) *Lit.* ‘ riding ’.

fields [1] came forth, and the prices fluctuated somewhat, then they decreased to their limit. And the Sultan ordered the amîrs and the soldiers to go forth to the outskirts of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and to be dressed and ranged in ranks so that he might go out to review them on horses in the desert [2]. And they did this, and all of them went out with those who collected with them in the way of Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân) and companions and foot-soldiers. And it was a great assembly and a remarkable day, and they were in their uniforms [3], rank by rank, on the right and the left and in the centre, from the Gate of Cairo [4] to the Birkat al-Ǧubb [5]. And the Sultan passed by them on horseback [6], inspecting rank by rank, and checking all of them, and he numbered them and he left them. And he passed from one to another rank on Tuesday, the fourteenth of (the month of) Šawâl of the year six hundred and twenty-four [7]. And he (the Sultan) commanded them to return from the desert [2], and (that) every amîr and his company should pass the night in his home, not in [8] the tents; and (that) when it was morning they should pass by him. And there did not remain to any amîr in his camp [9], except one tent according to his order, no more. And they passed the night, and when it was morning, they passed by the tent which the Sultan had erected on a mound near to the Gate an-Naṣr [10], and around it wooden gratings, and its roof was nailed; and he (the Sultan) was sitting behind [11] the grating with his intimates and the learned men [12] from the servants [13] of his State. And the amîrs began

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ lands ’.
(2) *Lit.* ‘ mountain ’.
(3) *Lit.* ‘ embellished ’.
(4) *I.e.* the Bâb Zuwailah.
(5) The *MS.* reads thus. Cf. page 97, note 8.
(6) *Lit.* ‘ riding ’.
(7) = 1228 A.D.
(8) *Lit.* ‘ without ’.
(9) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 819.
(10) D. Russell, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdi ’n-Naṭrûn*, pp. 171-172.
(11) *Lit.* ‘ within ’.
(12) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 169.
(13) *Lit.* ‘ inhabitants ’.

(Al-As'ad's) right hand be cut off; and every amîr in the State interceded for him, but he (the Sultan) did not accept, and his (Al-As'ad's) hand was cut off on Sunday, and he died on the following Sunday; and he was patient * satisfied, and thankful to God the Exalted, and he did not confess anything at all. And hardship and persecution befell the denomination for a number of days, especially, the scribes. Then the corn ripened, and prices became cheap, so that wheat was sold in the land of the Ṣa'îd (Upper Egypt) for four dirhams and a half the ardab, and the barley for three dirhams the ardab and likewise the rambling vetch and the lupines (θερμίς), and as for the turnips and the linseed, they were sold for eight dirhams the ardab; and it was something the like of which had not been heard. And linseed-oil, for thirty dirhams an oil-measure, and the water-melons, for a dirham the ḳanṭâr, and grapes, for seven dirhams the ḳanṭâr, and all eatables of this kind. And there were good things, the like of which had not been related since a number of years, only the amount of the provisions was little, and the earnings were small. And the people were complaining of their stagnant conditions, so that a group of the grain-merchants left their shops and deserted the markets on account of the stagnation. And the exchange of gold declined until it reached forty-one dirhams and a half for a dînâr. And the time of the blessed Nile (an-Nîl) came, and it (the flood-water) stopped at first, then it flowed swiftly, then it stopped for some days in the (month of) Misrâ [1], and it decreased one or two fingers, then it regained them and increased. Then there entered the year nine hundred and forty-four [2], and the water had not reached its plenitude. Then its increase continued, and it reached its plenitude on Thursday, the fourth of (the month of) Tût [3], and it increased until it reached ten fingers above seventeen cubits on the eighteenth of (the month of) Tût [4], and it decreased from the nineteenth of it (Tût) [5] considerably [6], and the

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[1] = July 25th-August 30th, Julian Style.
[2] = 1228 A.D.
[3] = September 1st, Julian Style.
[4] = September 15th, Julian Style.
[5] = September 16th, Julian Style.
[6] *Lit.* 'an excessive decrease'.

him a lodging, and he was generous towards him, and he appointed for him and additional allowance to support him. And the blessed Lent [1] came, and no talks took place concerning the affair of the patriarchate or other than it. And there occurred in it [2] an evil occurrence, and it happened [3] that one of the scribes known as Al-As'ad Ibn al-Kardûš was serving as a scribe in the prosperous Treasury, and he had brought from the port of Alexandria merchandise according to the custom, and the evening came upon them before they had examined it, and they left it in the outer boxes. And when it was morning, they controlled by the list the merchandise, and the found (that) the Sousan linen [4] was missing from it. And they said : « Who was in the Treasury yesterday, while the cloth was being placed in it?». And some of them mentioned this Al-As'ad the scribe. And [I]bn Ramaḍân, the possessor of the Dîwân, wrote to the Sultan an account of what had happened. And the Sultan commanded to seize all of them and to take precautions against then. And he seized all of them, and a guard was set over their womenfolk. And the mentioned Al-As'ad was the intended (person) among them, and his son was seized, and he was punished, and he bore witness against his father that he had taken it. Then the Sousan linen [4] was produced after that by a person, an assessor [5] in the Treasury. He mentioned that a woman had cast it down for evidence, and with it a piece of paper, and she left them and she fled; and that (when) they looked at it, (they recognized) that it was from the house of Al-As'ad [I]bn al-Kardûš, and that the piece of paper was from them. And on it (was) : « Conceal what God hath concealed, and have mercy, (and) ye shall find mercy» [6], and something (like) this. And he bore it straightway to the Sultan together with what had been submitted in the way of the witnessing of his son against him (Al-As'ad). And the Sultan commanded that his

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[1] *Lit.* ' Fast '.

[2] *I.e.* Lent.

[3] *Lit.* ' was '.

[4] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 701. This was valuable linen made at Sousa in Tunis.

[5] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 103.

[6] For the second half of this sentence, cf. *Matt.* v, 7.

strengthened to travel by land. Then (it was) that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — began to descend frequently at the belvedere of the Birkat [1] known as the Belvedere of Saîf al-Islâm. And he would command the inhabitants at it to illuminate it on the nights on which he descended there; and he launched on the Birkat [1] boats [2] and fire-ships, and he used to sail in them (the boats) every night, and to go round under its houses, and to give presents to the people, bestowing on them dînârs and dirhams and food and drinks and fruits beside these, * and he would drew nigh to the people and he would converse with them. And the people used to show ingenuity in what they did in the way of illumination and other than it. And these days were days of pleasure and entertainment and enjoyment and abundance and security. (And) the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — used to go frequently from the Birkat [1] to the Island [3], and from the Island [3] to the Birkat [1], and the nights of the Birkat [1] were marvellous and wonderful to an extreme. And al-Malik al-Mas'ûd made efforts to journey to the Yemen (al-Yaman), and he returned [4] with military equipment, and he took for him from all the artisans him who would travel with him to his land, and he prepared himself for (travel on) land and sea, and he journeyed to the Yemen (al-Yaman) over Mecca (Makkah) on land. Then (it was) that the crops were excellent and good things were abundant, and the prices became cheap, and affairs were quiet, and the world under the shadow of the Sultan was secure. And Al-Malik al-Mas'ûd in this year sent a man from the inhabitants of India (al-Hind). His form (was) the form of human beings, but on all his face and his body (there was) hair, and wool like the wool of a bear so that his beard was not distinguished from the hair of his face; and with him (there was) an interpreter (who) spoke with him in Indian (al-Hindî). And he (the hairy man) related that (he was) from the inhabitants of a house, all of them thus, the men and the women of them. And the Sultan gave to

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[1] Cf. page 98, note 7.
[2] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 682.
[3] *I.e.* the island of Rauḍah.
[4] *I.e.* from his camp at the Birkat.

opened according to the custom on Thursday the sixth [1]. And as for the New Canal [2] from Al-Maḳs [3], from the canal known as the canal of Adh-Dh k r, it had been opened before. Then the canal Al-Ḥâkimî rejoined it, and there was made for it a dam at the Bâb al-Ḳanṭarah [4] at the side of the square (al-Maîdân) which (is) there. And the increase of the Nile (an-Nîl) continued up to the fourteenth of (the month of) Bâbah [5], and it reached twelve fingers above eighteen cubits. And it was among the wonders of the world, because it was not related (that) a Nile (an-Nîl) had stopped at such a stopping, and had come to such a coming up; (and) then had decreased to such a decrease slowly from two fingers and from three, and all things became cheap. And Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Possessor of Syria (aš-Šâm) became reconciled to Al-Malik al-Ašraf, the Possessor of the East, (and with) his brother, the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil — may God empower his victory! — and the hatred which was between them vanished; and our Sire, Al-Malik al-Kâmil, returned with his troops from Al-ʿAbbâsah [6] to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) the protected. And condition(s) became settled in his noble kingdom, and he extended justice to the subjects, and he dispensed goodness to them; and they were days of abundance and of many good things. Then the news arrived concerning the calif (al-Khalîfat) Al-Imâm Al-Mustanṣir Abû Ǧaʿfar Al-Manṣûr, and prayers were said for him, and the coinage was struck in his name, and he was the son of Al-Imâm Aẓ-Ẓâhir Abû Naṣr Muḥammad the deceased. And in these days, the Sire, Al-Malik al-Masʿûd, the Possessor of the Yemen (al-Yaman) prepared to go to his land, and he despatched most of his goods by sea, and he also was resolved to go by sea. Then he changed his opinion about this, and he caused his camp to go out to the Birkat [7], and his resolution was

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[1] = September 3rd, Julian Style.

[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 259.

[3] Cf. page 96, note 5.

[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 129 and map on p. 165.

[5] = October 11th.

[6] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe,* Cairo, 1926, p. 58.

[7] Cf. page 96, note 11.

which corresponds to the twenty-third of (the month of) Ša'bân (in the) year six hundred and twenty-three [1] there arrived a solitary from Upper Egypt (aṣ-Sa'îd) and he announced that the Nile (an-Nîl) would come to its measure on .... [2]; and the Nile (an-Nîl) was at that time at Cairo (Miṣr) at one finger above sixteen (cubits), and it became on the twenty-seventh of (the month of) Misrâ [3] * increased by three fingers, and on the twenty-eighth by three fingers, and on the twenty-ninth by one finger, and it stayed at eight fingers above sixteen cubits. Then it stopped at the end of (the month of) Misra [4] and the beginning of (the month of) an-Nasî [5], and maybe it fluctuated. And on this day there arrived the news of the death of the Imâm Aẓ-Ẓâhir Abû Naṣr Muḥammad, the new calif (al-Khalîfat), and he did not (reign) more than six months. And the immolation [6] for him [7] was made at the Birkat al-Ḥubb [8] on the mentioned day, and it was Monday, the first of (the month of) An-Nasî [5], and the Sultan was departing, purposing (to march to) Syria (aš-Šâm). And the prices were cheap, and things were available, except that the people were weak in the extreme, and the State was harsh on them. Then the year nine hundred and forty-three of the Martyrs [9] entered, and the water (of the Nile) did not fluctuate [10]. Then it increased, and the dam of the two canals of Al-Manǧâ were opened, the first on Tuesday, the fourth of (the month of) Tût [11], and the measure reached its normal on Wednesday, the fifth [12], and the Canal [13] was

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[1] *I.e.* of the Hiǧrah.

[2] There is a blank space here in the *MS*.

[3] = August 20th, Julian Style.

[4] = August 23rd, Julian Style.

[5] = August 24th, Julian Style.

[6] The sacrifice of animals at funerals, cf. W.S. Blackmann, *The Fellâhîn of Upper Egypt*, London, 1927, p. 110.

[7] *Lit.* ' his '.

[8] The *MS*. reads thus. Is Ḥubb an error for Ḥabaš ?

[9] 1227 A.D.

[10] *Lit.* ' was fixed '.

[11] = September 1st, Julian Style.

[12] = September 2nd, Julian Style.

[13] *I.e.* the Canal of Cairo (Khalîǧ al-Maṣrî).

Cairo (Miṣr) a man called ʿAbd al-Ḳâdr and he had guaranteed the tribute of the Dhimah [1] in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr). And they suffered great harm from him, and he used to oppress them exceedingly [2], and he would stop their work and he would take their female slaves and their male slaves (Mamâlîk) by force [3], and he would shut them up in confinement, and he would say : «These (are) Muslims (al-Muslimûn), and ye have corrupted them and have prevailed over them. And either ye pay extra for them or their work will be stopped». And the lords of the State used to aid him in this to inform them of their [4] origin. And in this year the canal of Adh-Dhikr which (is) from the bridge of Maqs (al-Maqs) [5] was opened, and it penetrated to the canal of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) known as Al-Ḥâkimî, and there was made at its month a dam which was joined to the usual dam. And in this year the two rivers [6] met in the day-time of Friday, the seventh of (the month of) Misrâ [7] which corresponds to the fourth of (the month of) Šaʿbân of the year six hundred and twenty three [8], and the price(s) were cheap and things were to be found, except that wages were very miserable. Then (it was) that the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — resolved to set out for Syria (aš-Šâm) on account of a dispute which had occurred between him and [9] his brother, the Possessor of Damascus (Dimašḳ) [10]. And he ordered the amîrs and the soldiers to make preparations for their affairs, and the movement concerning this was strengthened, and the people prepared themselves as they could, and they went out to the Lake (al-Birkat) [11]. And on Wednesday, the twenty-six of (the month of) Misrâ [12],

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(1) *I.c.* Jews and Christians enjoying protective rights in an Islamic State.

(2) *Lit.* ‘a great oppression’.

(3) *Lit.* ‘by his hand’.

(4) *I.e.* the origin of the slaves.

(5) Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 132.

(6) *I.e.* the two canals or watercourses in question.

(7) = July 31st, Julian Style.

(8) = 1227 A.D.

(9) *Lit.* ‘and between’.

(10) Cf. page 94, note 3.

(11) Probably, the Birkat Al-Fîl.

(12) = August 19th, Julian Style.

be burned with him, and (it should be) a warning; and gold was very scarce. And the Sultan ordered that the exchange of the dînâr with the new (dirhams) should be forty dirhams for a dînâr. And if a man came to a money-changer to seek from him a dînâr for dirhams, he (the money-changer) would not take less than forty-three and a half new dirhams, otherwise, he would deny that he had any gold at all. And the people were * in this manner in great hardship, though prices were cheap and things were to be found, and the reason of it (was that) poverty and distress overpowered the people. And the tax [1] was exacted in this year from the Dhimah [2], two dînârs for every head [3] (who) exchanged forty-eight old dirhams for one dînâr; (and) the tax [1] amounted to one hundred dirhams in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), and as for the towns outside, the tax [1] amounted to one hundred and twenty dirhams. And people were delegated from the Sultanic Highness, called surveyors [4] and inspectors [5], (who) went out to the southern and the northern districts, and they imposed on the people taxes [6], among which (was) that they demanded from them the dues of the cemeteries and the graves, and the value of the bricks (ⲧⲱⲃⲓ) and the stones with which they built their houses. And they laid claim to the property of the houses, and they demanded of them (the possessors) a proof (of possession), and they said : «All lands are the property of the Sultan, and ye from whence have ye possessed this? Prove (it) by the law (aš-Šaria') otherwise, everything (is) the property of the Sultan. And begin (to pay) the rent from the time ye have dwelt (there) and up to now». And they revised for them the surveyance for the rent [7] and other than it, and they increased it for them; and those who evaluated multiplied, and the doors were opened to them, and a great amount was collected in this manner which impoverished all the people. And there was in

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[1] *I.e.* the capitation tax.
[2] *I.e.* Jews and Christians enjoying protective rights in an Islamic State.
[3] *I.e.* the head of a family.
[4] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 839.
[5] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 471.
[6] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 258.
[7] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 507.

one thousand two hundred dînârs. And when the two months were passed, they gave to him another interest [1]. And they consulted the Sultan, and they took back the mentioned thousand dînârs, and they returned it to its owner with its interest; and the crowds kept silent and idle talk ceased. Then the Nile (an-Nîl) came, and it flowed well, then it decreased from the sixteenth of (the month of) Abîb [2] up to the twentieth of it, (to) the extent of ten fingers. Then the decrease was regained, and it increased to the normal increase. And in these days the news arrived that Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, Sultan of Syria (aš-Šâm), had departed from Damascus (Dimašḳ) [3], making for Ḥamah [4], and that he [5] had stirred up Khawârizm Šâh against the Land of Khilât [6] which is a possession of Al-Malik al-Ašraf, the Possessor of the East, and the Sultan, the Possessor of Egypt (Miṣr), (who was) before him [5]. And he commanded the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) troops to go out to the Land of Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) and the Littoral [7] and what bordered Damascus (Dimašḳ) [3], and they pillaged and they burned and they took captives, and they had equipped for this. And the people after this (were) in straits and ruin on account of the dirhams and their differences, and the word of the Sultan not to use the old dirham. And it was abundant in the hands of the people, and also for their detestation of the new dirham, because they used to lose by it the fourth of their money, because they used to come to the money-changers or to the Mint, and for forty-five old dirhams they would be given thirty-seven new dirhams. And value for value and standard for standard, their loss would be the quarter or less than it. And the proclamation continued that he who dealt with it [8] should lose his wealth and his blood [9], and (that) that which was found with him should

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(1) *I.e.* in addition to the interest agreed upon.

(2) = July 10th, Julian Style.

(3) Cf. B. Meistermann, *Guide de Terre Sainte,* pp. 578-595.

(4) Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* p. 253.

(5) *I.e.* Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam.

(6) Cf. page 50, note 2.

(7) Cf. page 38, note 1.

(8) The old dirham.

(9) *I.e.* his life.

Sultan) seized those controllers [1], everyone was fettered by himself, and the discussion (concerning) the patriarchate ceased. And for some of them (the controllers) he took their signatures for ten thousand dînârs, and from some of them he took their signatures for five thousand dînârs, and from a few three thousand dînârs. And the time for the people was hard and severe, though there was cheapness (of prices) in spite of the hardness of the heart of the Sultan towards them. And in this period there arrived * the messenger of the Amîr of the Faithful Abû Nâṣr, aẓ-Ẓâhir bi 'Amr Allah, who had succeeded his father, An-Nâṣr, because he had died in this year, from Bagdad (Baghdâd), and with him splendid robes of honour, black (and) gold embroidered, and there arrived among them those which were tailored with gold, as prescribed for the riding out of the great Sultan. And the Sultan and his sons wore the robes of honour together with the turbans. And he caused his notables and the great ones of the amîrs to be clothed with robes of honour less rich [2]; and to him among them who wore the turban, he gave a turban, and to him among them who wore a high head-dress [3], he gave a high head-dress [3], and all this (was) from what came from Bagdâd (Baghdâd). And that day was a remarkable day. And there arrived after that a messenger of the King of ar-Rûm [4], the Possessor of Iconium (Ḳûnîah) and Philomelion (Aḳṣirâ), and a messenger of the Kurd (al-Kurǧ), and many messengers from every place; and alarming news was spread after that, that the Khawârizm Šâh had overcome the troops of the Kurd (al-Kurǧ) and had conquered Tiflis (Tiflîs) and ? Ancyra (Anǧârâ) [5], and the news concerning this spread. And after this, the delay [6] was drawn out for the friends of the priest David (Dâûd), and the owner of the thousand dînârs demanded it together with its interest from them, because they had taken it from him for two months for

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(1) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 827.

(2) *Lit.* ' inferior to them '.

(3) For a description of this head-dress, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 742.

(4) *I.e.* the Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor.

(5) This name is written without diacritical points, thus اىحارا .

(6) *I.e.* as regards the request made to the Sultan.

consecration [1] of David (Dâûd), and he (the Sultan) required one thousand of them in advance, and the other thousand, when the affair of the consecration [1] should be accomplished. And seven persons [2] of his (David's) friends assembled, and they went to a man, a merchant, called Al-Ḥillî, and they borrowed from him a thousand dînârs at one thousand two hundred dînârs for two months, and they delivered them to Mufarraǧ. And the matter was postponed, and the adversaries of David (Dâûd) heard of this, and they came together. And they were irate, and they wrote to the Sultan that they were of a different opinion, and the affair between them became serious according to the usual custom. And they accepted (to pay) the two thousand dînârs, and they apportioned it over the churches and the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), on the condition that David (Dâûd) should not be mentioned. And they submitted the affair to the Sultan, and he did not accept (it), but he said to them : «Agree with your companions, and the affair continued thus, and the document of the thousand dînârs (was) with Mufarraǧ. And the Sultan did not return it [3], and he did not accept it, because he was waiting for their agreement. And during this, he (the Sultan) seized some of the controllers [4] who were hostile to David (Dâûd); and in the end it was decided that there should be written four pieces of paper among all of which (should be the name) David (Dâûd), and that they should be placed on the altar [5], and (that) he whose name should come out, should be consecrated [6]. However, the friends of David (Dâûd) did not agree to the lot [7], because they said : «We have not (another) than our companion and who is like unto him, so that we may associate him with him, and (that) a lot be made between them». And the dispute and the scheming and the strife was very strong, and (there was) a hard time for the people, and especially for the scribes. And when he (the

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[1] *Lit.* 'advancement'.

[2] *Lit.* 'souls'.

[3] *I.e.* did not allow it to be returned.

[4] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 827.

[5] Cf. page 5, note 2.

[6] *Lit.* 'advanced'.

[7] *I.e.* the altar-lot.

at eight dirhams and a quarter for a new (dirham). And they used to reduce every dirham by three kharaîb [1]. And the dirhams which were collected at the money-changer were borne to the Citadel [2], and they were the very coins which had been struck; and these round dirhams were made without increase or decrease. And there was a gain for the Sultan from them of one hundred and seventy-five dînârs for every thousand dînârs, and the mint [3] used to make every day one hundred thousand dirhams, the profit of which every day (was) almost five hundred dînârs, * and conditions continued thus. And the people murmured, and they sustained loss, and they asked help from God the Exalted, but He did not help them. And gold completely disappeared, so that the dînâr began to be exchanged at fifty old dirhams, and its possessor would not accept to sell it, and there was not found one to offer it, and the people sustained by this a clear loss, because every dirham (which) the people had went down [4] to a half and a quarter and the half of a quarter, certainly not more. And after this, they struck small coins and they sold them, every four small coins at a quarter of a dirham, and the people were optimistic with them, more than with the new dirhams; and the people remained in this condition perplexed. And messengers of Khawârizm Šâh, king of Persia (al-Furs), came and it was not known for what reason they came. And in the Holy Lent [5] of this year the friends of the priest David (Dâûd) were stirred to seek the patriarchate for him, and they assembled with a Greek (Rûmî) man, a merchant, (who) used to visit frequently the lands from Acre ('Akkâ) [6] and other than it, and his name was Mufarrağ, and he was near to the Sultan — may God magnify his victory! — and to the amîr Fakhr ad-Dîn, equerry of the House [7], and they were agreed to pay to the Sultan — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — two thousand dînârs for the

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[1] A very small coin, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 357.

[2] *I.e.* to the mint at the Citadel.

[3] *Lit.* 'the house'.

[4] *Lit.* 'returned'.

[5] *Lit.* 'Fast'.

[6] Cf. page 40, note 2.

[7] *I.e.* the Palace.

seized the monks, and he beat them, and he hanged them, and he punished them, until he imposed on them six hundred dînârs. And he extracted from them (the dînârs) four hundred dînârs, and he brought them with him; and he came to an agreement with them (the monks) that they should collect the other two hundred (dînârs) before he returned to take them from them; and he bore the mentioned amount to the Sultan, and it was four hundred dînârs. And he said to him : «I went to the monasteries, and I said to the monks : Swear that there is not with you a debt to the Sultan, and they compounded for their oath for six hundred dînârs, and I have brought from them (the dînârs) four hundred dînârs, and the rest I shall bring. And I did not separate from them, until they had collected them». And a group of the chiefs (Mašaîkh) of the monks came, and they stood before the Sultan — may God magnify his victory! — and they complained to him of their affair. And when he understood their affair, he commanded that what had been carried away from them should be returned to them. And they received it, and they placed it on a dish, and they lighted candles, and they went round all Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) with it; and it was an affair which amazed everyone, and (it was) a miracle which was manifested on behalf of the fathers of the monasteries. Then he (the Sultan) commanded that they (the people) should not deal with the old dirhams at all, but he who had anything of them, should go with it to the money-changer, and he would receive gold at the rate of forty-five dirhams a dînâr, and should return to exchange the gold for the new dirhams at the rate of thirty-seven dirhams for a dînâr. And this was in name only, because the gold was not pure, being unobtainable, and everyone who had anything (of it) would not offer it. However, it was in name only, so that their transaction might be justified according to their religion [1], because they (the Muslims) say that to sell silver for silver is not sanctioned, but forbidden, and likewise gold for gold, and everything like it. And the people were dealing with them [2], but in secret; every ten old dirhams they calculated

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[1] Cf. The Noble Ḳur'ân, Sûrat al-Baḳarah, 276. Cf. E. Montet, *Le Coran*, Paris, 1929.

[2] *I.e.* the old dirhams.

dirhams for a dînâr, and the people were at this time in great distress and confusion. And the Sultan was demanding the money, and he was collecting it by every means. And the sons of Aṣ-Ṣâḥib and the male-slaves (were) tortured [1] and punished, and they were selling and reimboursing. Then (it was) that the water (of the Nile) came up to what was mentioned before, and it was not completed, and it decreased to thirteen cubits. Then it (the water) returned, (and) it increased at the end of (the month of) Bâbah [2], until it reached some fingers above fifteen cubits. Then it decreased, until it returned to thirteen cubits. Then it returned to increase, until it reached what it had been at first, * and it inundated all what the people had sown. And it returned to pass over the Canal [3], and boats crossed over on it, in the half of (the month of) Hatûr [4], after it [5] had become dry and people had walked in it [5], and everyone marvelled at this affair. And in these days, one of the monks [6] of the Monastery of Abba (Abû) Macarius (Maḳâr) [7] embraced al-Islâm, and he caluminated the monks to the Sultan, and he mentioned that among them (were) those who sought refuge in monasticism from the burden of the tax, and that they had debts and inheritances [8] to the Dîwân. And the Sultan ordered that one of the amîrs [9] should go out with him [10] to find out about them. And an amîr known as Ibn Sîrwîn went out with him [10], and he reached the monasteries in the Wâdî Habîb [11], and he did not make an investigation, but he

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(1) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 134.

(2) = September 28th-October 27th, Julian Style.

(3) Cf. page 87, note 9.

(4) = October 28th-November 26th, Julian Style.

(5) *I.e.* the Canal.

(6) *Lit.* ‘ a monk of the monks ’.

(7) Cf. H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdî ’n-Naṭrûn,* Part III, O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Monasteries of the Wâdî ’n-Naṭrûn,* pp. 28-40, O. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts,* pp. 161-210.

(8) *I.e.* inheritances on which they should have paid the tax to the government.

(9) *Lit.* ‘ an amîr of the amîrs ’.

(10) *I.e.* the monk.

(11) *I.e.* the Wâdî ’n-Naṭrûn.

neither meat nor other than it. And the extreme limit to which it (the Nile) reached in this year (was) sixteen fingers above sixteen cubits, and it did not come to completion, and the Nilometer (al-Miḳyâs)[1] was not completed in this year, and it was not proclaimed. Then (it was) that the Sultan became very suspicious with regard to the amîrs, and he fettered another group. Then he seized the sons of Aṣ-Ṣâḥib and the male slaves, and he punished them, and he demanded from them money. And this time was a time of hardship, because the Sultan demanded the remainder (of the tax) from the people, and he ordered to tax the successors[2], and to demand (from them) money. And he was residing at the protected Citadel[3], and his son, the Possessor of the Yemen (al-Yaman), (was) with him at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And all the troops, after they had gone out, at the end of the Tax Year, to the outskirts of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), lived under tents for some days, and all of them were wearing their equipments and their trappings[4], and they were reviewed, every amîr according to his order, and it was a remarkable day, the like of it had not been seen. Then he (the Sultan) commanded that none of them should go out to the Rîf[5], and (that) they should remain at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), both the small and the great of them. And gold was during these days unobtainable, so that the exchange reached to forty-four dirhams and a half the dînâr, and it continued thus. And the Sultan ordered that a mint should be opened at the Citadel[3], and another mint at Cairo (Miṣr), beside the mint which was at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And the mint which was at the Citadel[3] was opened, and round dirhams were struck at it, and gold became extremely dear until it was exhausted, and the dirhams were sold at fifty dirhams for a dînâr, and the minimum (was) at forty-seven dirhams for a dînâr. Then the mentioned dirhams were issued, and it was ordered to sell them at thirty-seven dirhams for a dînâr, and that the old should be at forty-two

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(1) Cf. page 82, note 7.

(2) *I.e.* heirs.

(3) Cf. page 43, note 4.

(4) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 795.

(5) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, 'The Rif of Egypt', in *Orientalia,* vol. VIII, fasc. 1-2, pp. 96-119.

matter came to a standstill on account of what Fakhr ad-Dîn Uthmân had said to the Sultan concerning the offer of Aṣ-Ṣâḥib. And the people found [1] two parties, and they returned to what they had of hatred and enmity, and the making of false written testimonies against the priest David (Dâûd), and the bearing of them to the Sultan, until they wore out his favour in the case. And the time was short and the days were passing and the Feast [2] came, and conditions remained as before. And, at the end of this year, there died Aṣ-Ṣâḥib the wazîr, and he was buried at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in a place near to his house which he had constructed for himself. And he had a great bearing forth and a great funeral. All who came from the two cities [3] witnessed it, and the Sultan sent his sons and his relatives, (and) they prayed over him. Then there entered the year nine hundred and forty-two [4] in (the month of) Šaʿbân, (in the) year six hundred and twenty-two [5], * and the Nile (an-Nîl) did not come up fully and did not reach the tax-level [6], and prices fluctuated. And on the eve of Wednesday [7], the sixth of (the month of) Tût [8], the Canal was cut [9] before the time secretly, and no one knew about it, and the price of corn soared, and people sought for it, and the Sultan forbade anyone to sell anything of it at all. Then it (the Nile) reached the tax-level [6] on the mentioned day, and the people were quietened, and they hoped that the water would increase, but the condition continued (thus). And the water decreased, and corn was in this year in great quantity, and the highest price of first class wheat was fixed at twenty dirhams the ardab, and barley, at thirteen dirhams, and beans (al-Fûl), at fourteen dirhams, and all (was) at the rate, and nothing was dear,

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ became ’.

[2] *I.e.* the Feast of Easter.

[3] *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

[4] = 1225 A.D.

[5] *I.e.* of the Hiğrah.

[6] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 320. *I.e.* the level at which taxes could be imposed.

[7] *I.e.* Tuesday night.

[8] = September 3rd, Julian Style.

[9] *I.e.* the Khalîğ al-Maṣrî, for the usual ceremony, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 145-146, and D. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82 and 108.

whom he heard that he had greeted him (Niš al-Khilâfah) in the way, he would work to destroy him, especially he who was his (Niš al-Khilâfah's) friend or his companion; and so everyone who wished for the priest David (Dâûd) would conceal it and not manifest it out of fear of Aṣ-Ṣâḥib. And the case of Paul (Bûluṣ) al-Bûšî became difficult, and he [1] hastened, and he brought the bishops, and they wrote for him a written testimony in which the majority of the people wrote approving of him out of consideration for Aṣ-Ṣâḥib. However, some people without importance stood before the Sultan, and they said : «O our Sire, we shall never agree to this Al-Bûšî, and we have him who is more fit than he». And he (the Sultan) said : «And who is he?» They said : «David (Dâûd) Ibn Laḳlaḳ, and we beg of our Sire that he bring the two of them before him [2] and hear the discourse of both of them and their learning. And he whom he prefers, him we would accept, for our Sire is the representative of God on His earth», and he (the Sultan) settled to bring them both. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah had a discussion with the Sultan concerning this. And he (the Sultan) established the elements, and the terms were arranged between the friends of both (parties), so that they made the amount one thousand dînârs. And as for the friends of David (Dâûd), they said that they would borrow it and would arrange for it, and they would not impose it on anyone. And as for the friends of Paul (Bûluṣ), they had agreed with Aṣ-Ṣâḥib that they should exact it from the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) in both Upper and Lower Egypt (al-Waǧhaîn al-Ḳiblî wa'l-Baḥarî) and all the people without exception. And the Sultan intended to bring them both on an appointed day, because they were both in the district of Cairo (Miṣr), and that the Patriarch of the Melchites (al-Malakîah) [3] should come with both, and that they should all be present. And the Sultan caused to be brought the jurisconsults and the notables of the people; and there crossed over with David (Dâûd) two of his friends, and as for Paul (Bûluṣ), they did not leave anyone to cross over with him. And David (Dâûd) came out preferred, but the

[1] *I.e.* Aṣ-Ṣâḥib.

[2] *Lit.* 'between his hands'.

[3] *I.e.* of the Greek Orthodox.

and the Nile (an-Nîl) reached in this year to four fingers above eighteen cubits. Then there entered the year nine hundred and forty-one [1], and the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil was residing in his prosperous Citadel [2] at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and Al-Malik al-Mas'ûd was residing (there) also. And aṣ-Ṣâḥib Ibn Šukr, the administrator [3] of affairs, (was) occupied, and the Church (was) without a patriarch, and prices (were) as before. And when, in the course of the year, news reached the Sultan from some people concerning some of the amîrs about a suspicious affair, he fettered some of them, and he banished some of them and he sequestered their property and cut off their means of living [4], and he demanded from some money. And during the blessed Lent [5] the collectors [6] approached Aṣ-Ṣâḥib, and they said to him : «Thou hast done every thing well, except the affair of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) for they are without a patriarch, and they have suffered harm, and their laws (*νόμος*) have been weakened». And he said to them : «Something [7] is necessary for the Sultan»; and they agreed with him on five hundred dînârs. And he wrote to the Sultan and he sought his permission. And his (the Sultan's) answer came that they should choose (a patriarch); and the collectors [6] together with a group of the common people and they chose a monk called Paul (Bûluṣ) al-Bûšî. And he had come at that time from his monastery * to be treated, because he was (sick) of hepatic fever, and Aṣ-Ṣâḥib assisted them in this. And some of the people chose the priest David (Dâûd) [I]bn John (Yûḥannâ) known as Ibn Laḳlaḳ, but they did not venture to manifest this, because the mentioned priest (David) (was) well-known (to be) a friend of the elder (aš-Šaikh) Niš al-Khilâfah [I]bn al-Munḳâṭ; and the mentioned elder (aš-Šaikh) was an enemy of Aṣ-Ṣâḥib, not going to him in (his) house, contrary to everyone in the land. And everyone of

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(1) = 1225 A.D.

(2) Cf. D. Russell, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdi Naṭrûn*, pp. 195-210.

(3) For the meaning of حاكم, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 310.

(4) *Lit.* ‘ breads ’.

(5) *Lit.* ‘ the Fast ’.

(6) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 827.

(7) *I.e.* an amount of money.

news arrived that the king Al-Mas'ûd, the Possessor of the Yemen (al-Yaman), the son of the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil, had come to the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣriyat) and that he had reached 'Aydhab [1]. And the Sultan sent out his son, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, and the son of his brother Al-Malik al-Muẓẓafar, Taḳî ad-Dîn, and the son of his brother Šams al-Milûk, son of Al-Malik al-'Azz son of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn, and those who were with them in the way of amîrs and of soldiers to meet him, and they met him near to Ḳûṣ [2]. Then he reached Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in (the month of) Amšîr [3] of the mentioned year, bearing gifts great and many, and a quantity of money. And among all what arrived with him in the way of wonders, (were) three elephants, two of which no greater than they had ever been seen, (they were) like a great island; and it was related that the age of each of them (was) under twenty years, and (there was) another small (one), its age (being) eight years. And the elders and the writers [4] of histories related that nothing had been brought to the lands greater than they, and his (al-Mas'ûd's) crossing over (was) a remarkable day. And there had been despatched to the Ḥiğaz [5], before that, troops to attend on him together with the son of his uncle Al-Malik al-Ğawâd Muẓẓafâr ad-Dîn, son of Maûdûd. And he (Al-Mas'ûd) took a contrary way to them, and they [6] went to Yanbu' [7], and it is an impregnable fortress of the lands of the Ḥiğaz [5], and it was barred to Al-Malik al-Mas'ûd. A company had assembled at it, and they had revolted against him, and they conquered it by the sword, and they took captive everyone who (was) in it, and they left at it their vicegerent, and they returned. And Al-Malik al-Mas'ûd remained at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), residing at the Castle, and conditions continued as they were; and aṣ-Ṣâḥib Ṣafî ad-Dîn had all things in his hands. And prices (remained) as they were throughout the year, and things increased in cheapness,

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[1] A port on the Red Sea.

[2] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

[3] = January 26th-February 24th, Julian Style.

[4] *Lit.* 'possessors'.

[5] District on the eastern shore of the Red Sea.

[6] *Lit.* 'those'.

[7] In Arabia Felix.

however, (these) affairs (are) in the hand of God the Exalted. And some of the archons (ἄρχων) discussed with Aṣ-Ṣâḥib the wazîr concerning the consecration [1] of the patriarch, and he ordered that the hermit who (was) at Abyâr [2] should be sought, and that he should be consecrated [3] in his (David's) place for five hundred dînârs, (and he should pay them) to the Treasury; and they began to seek the mentioned sum and spread it over the churches [4]. And he (the wazîr) was not able (to do) it, and he did not continue [5] thus with it, and the affair stopped and discussions were broken off. And Al-Malak al-Ašraf departed from the belvedere of Saîf al-Islâm which was at the Pool of the Elephant (Birkat al-Fîl) [6], in the daytime of Saturday, the eleventh of (the month of) Ša'aban, (in the) year six hundred and twenty [7], which corresponds to the eleventh of (the month of) Tût [8], and the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil went out to bid him farewell. And the confiscations [9] were as before [10], and the armies were full of scribes and possessors of diwans (ad-Dawâwîn), and the wazîr knew of nothing, except to collect for the Sultan from all sides. And there entered the year nine hundred and forty [11], and the Nile (an-Nîl) in this year reached up to twelve fingers above seventeen cubits, and prices decreased, and things were many and available, and the world was at peace from sedition, and nothing was expensive except gold and wax. And the exchange reached forty-three dirhams for a dînâr, * and wax (was) eight dirhams and a half the raṭl, and the conditions remained as before. And at the end of (the month of) Kîhak [12] in this year the

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[1] *Lit.* 'setting up'.
[2] Cf. page 12, note 2.
[3] *Lit.* 'set up'.
[4] *I.e.* every church had to contribute a determined amount.
[5] *Lit.* 'and he did not walk in it thus'.
[6] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* map facing page 203, and D. Russell, *op. cit.,* plate 23.
[7] = 1223 A.D.
[8] = September 8th, Julian Style.
[9] Cf. page 65.
[10] *Lit.* 'on their condition'.
[11] 1223 A.D.
[12] Kîhak ended in this year on December 26th, Julian Style.

(al-Ḳâhirah) on Thursday, the tenth of (the month of) Ṭûbah [1] of this year. And it (Cairo) was finely decorated [2], the like of which was not told, and this day was among its great, famous days. And Al-Malak al-Ašraf went out into the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to Al-Khâraḳânîah [3] to Ašmûm [4], to Abyâr [5], to the Island of Egypt (Miṣr) [6]. And his descent at the Island [6] was in the days of (the inundation of) the blessed Nile (an-Nîl), and illuminations were lit on every night with the product of wax and oil, and (such) care had not been witnessed. And as for the night of the measuring of the Nilometer (al-Mikyâs) [7], they added to the combustibles of the two banks [8] the fuel of rafts of wood, and they had found them in the river [9], and the fuel of boats [10] and fire-ships with their furnishings in the middle of the river [9]. And all the days of it were feasts. And prices became cheap to an extreme so that wheat was sold at thirty dînârs the hundred ardabs, and barley and beans (al-Fûl) at twenty dînârs the hundred ardabs, and bread (was) ten raṭls for a dirham, and meat for half a dirham and an eighth the raṭl, and fowls for five dirhams the ten, and nothing was expensive. And clover (al-Birsîm) during the days of the increase of the Nile (an-Nîl) was twenty-five dirhams the ardab; and, when the Nile (an-Nîl) decreased, clover (al-Ba'lî) [11] was sold for sixty-six (dirhams) the ardab, and clover (al-Ḥirâtî), for fifty-four dirhams the ardab, and this (was) a thing of wonder, because the Nile (an-Nîl) was not high;

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[1] January 5th, Julian Style.

[2] *Lit.* ' decorated a decoration '.

[3] Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 326.

[4] Cf. page 67, note 9.

[5] Cf. page 12, note 2.

[6] *I.e.* Ar-Raûḍah (Cairo), cf. D. Russell, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdî Naṭrûn*, pp. 107-109.

[7] Cf. D. Russell, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdî Naṭrûn*, pp. 107-108.

[8] *I.e.* of the Nile.

[9] *Lit.* ' sea '.

[10] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 131.

[11] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 100.

be prevented from passing by here, and we shall be safe from its [1] harm». And he (the Legate) said : «By the troth of my religion, I shall not place these crosses which (are) at the top of this mast, except on the wall of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah)». He (the king of Acre) said to him (the Legate) : «Journey on, and we shall see what will happen», and if he had not done this, the Franks (al-Afranğ) would have destroyed him. Then the Sultan departed to Abyâr [2] at which he stayed during the summer. Then he came down to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [3], and he commanded that a causeway should be made on the bank of the lake [4] from Bûrah [5] to the Mediterranean Sea [6] to prevent the water of the river [7] from overflowing into the lake [4]. And he imposed on the amîrs and the soldiers, every possessor of a thousand dînârs, (the obligation to provide) two fire-ships, and they did this. And the causeway was completed. Then he began with the construction of a fortress on the bank of the lake [4] near to the Nile (an-Nîl), and he made in it eleven towers. And he imposed (the cost of) the towers on the amîrs according to their means. On some of them he imposed (the cost of) one tower only, and on some of them (the cost of) a tower for two amîrs, and (on) others (the cost of) a tower for three or four (amîrs). And the year nine hundred and thirty-nine of the Pure Martyrs [8] entered, * and the Nile (an-Nîl) rose in this year to seven fingers above eighteen cubits, and prices became cheap and the land was prosperous. And in this year Al-Malik al Ašraf, Sultan of the East, came to the Land of Egypt (Miṣr) for the purpose of pleasure and service to his brother, the Sultan Al-Malak al-Kâmil. And he received him with hospitality and provisions at Raml [9], and he passed over to Cairo

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[1] *I.e.* the river's.

[2] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[3] Cf. page 31, note 4.

[4] This, it would seem, must be the Lake Al-Manzalah, since the Bûrah mentioned here must be the Bûrah near the Lake Al-Manzalah, and not the Bûrah on the shore of the Mediterranean.

[5] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, Plates V and VI.

[6] *Lit.* ‘Salt Sea’.

[7] Or ‘sea’. بحر can have both meanings.

[8] = 1222 A.D.

[9] Cf. E. Améliineau, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

are of no account to us, because (there is) not one of them but has his work to do [1], and he has an enemy. And their intention is besiege us [2] for a month or two or three (months), but they will not obtain any advantage over us, and everyone will return to his place; and we shall grow stronger, and our wills will grow stronger, and our enemy will become less and will be weakened, and if we get possession of Egypt (Miṣr) in twenty years, we shall have made haste». And he (the Legate) did not accept (this) from him, but he said : «Thou art a dissembler». He said : «I shall go out with thee, and it shall be according to the will of the Lord» [3]. And they went out until they came to Šârimsah [4], and he (the king of Acre) said to him (the Legate) : «We ought to stay here this year, and we should dig an entrenchment round us, and we should sow (the land) from here up to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5], and our ships will come to us, and birds will not be able to fly between us and [6] Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5]. And if this crowd (of Muslims) depart, and reinforcements come to us, Cairo (Miṣr) will be two days within our reach [7] without hindrance». And he (the Legate) said : «Thou art a dissembler, I shall not take Cairo (Miṣr) except in these days». And they went on until they reached opposite to the mouth of the river [8] Al-Maḥallah [9] which was before Al-Baramûn [10] from which the ships of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) went out. And he (the king of Acre) said to him (the Legate) : «Nothing (is) more dangerous for us than this river [8]. Give to me this great ship which is with thee, we will place it at the mouth of this river [8], and we will place with it ten galleys, (and) the wind will

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[1] *Lit.* ‘behind him’.

[2] *Lit.* ‘descend at us’.

[3] *Lit.* ‘and the will of the Lord shall be’.

[4] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

[5] Cf. page 31, note 4.

[6] *Lit.* ‘and between’.

[7] *Lit.* ‘before us’.

[8] *Lit.* ‘sea’.

[9] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, Plate VI.

[10] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 364; R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades*, p. 302; R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, p. 255.

sea; and he returned to Ašmûm [1], and he remained at it until he took leave of his brothers and the troops of Syria (aš-Šâm) and the East. And he returned to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he crossed over to it in the daytime of Friday, the eighth of (the month of) Ramaḍân, (in the) year six hundred and eighteen [2], and his crossing over (was) a remarkable day and the two cities [3] were decorated, the like of which was not told (before), and the people rejoiced * and were in safety. And the Nile (an-Nîl) reached in this year up to .... [4]. And there was formed [5] between the Sultan and [6] the King of Acre (ʿAkkâ) [7] a great confirmed friendship, and gifts were borne from the one to the other [8], and suppositions became numerous. And some people said that he [9] was in collusion (with the Muslims), and that (it was) he who had done this deed with the Franks (al-Faranǧ), and some people said (that) it was not of his (own) consent, but (it was) the Legate (al-Lakât) [10] who had advised the going out [11], and (that) it was not possible that he should disagree with him, lest he (the Legate) should accuse him of collusion [12]. And he [13] had said to him (the Legate): « We must not go out from this our city, namely, Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [14], until the Emperor [15] come to discuss with us; and it is certain that if we remain behind our entrenchments a thousand years, we shall not pay heed to anyone, even if they come as the number of the sands. And these troops of whom thou hearest, they

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(1) Cf. page 67, note 9.
(2) *I.e.* of the Hiǧrah = 1221 A.D.
(3) *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).
(4) There is a lacuna here in the *MS.*
(5) *Lit.* ‘ became ’.
(6) *Lit.* ‘ and between ’.
(7) *I.e.* Jean de Brienne, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades,* pp. 303-304.
(8) *Lit.* ‘ from this to this ’.
(9) *I.e.* Jean de Brienne.
(10) Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades,* p. 301.
(11) *I.e.* from Damietta.
(12) *I.e.* with the Muslims.
(13) *I.e.* the king of Acre.
(14) Cf. page 31, note 4.
(15) *I.e.* Frederick II.

would have given Jerusalem (Al-Ḳuds), and the Littoral [1] and another fief in exchange for Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [2], and the Franks (al-Afranǧ) did not do (this), but they gave it thus, and it was a subject of joy and exultation for them [3]. And there entered the year nine hundred and thirty-eight [4], and during this there arrived forty-five galleys of the troops of the Emperor [5] which were coming for relief to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [2]. And when they heard what had happened in the way of the truce and that the kings (were) hostages, they returned. And the Sultan began to equip the Franks (al-Afranǧ) for departure. And among them (were) those who went by sea, and he caused to be given to them provisions and supplies. And he made ready with them his brother, the Possessor of the Fortress of Ǧaʿabar [6], until he sent them off. And for some of them he extended the causeways to the western bank, so that they might pass over on their way [7] to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [2], because the eastern bank was not bound to them by oath [8]. And the large raft which belonged to them and their ships around it (was) opposite to them on the river [9], and they continued for some days until they arrived [10]. And the majority of them journeyed, and those who remained at Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [2] went out to its vessels (al-Aǧram) [11]. And Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [2] was surrendered in the first decade of (the month of) Tût [12]. And the Sultan journeyed to it, he and the troops, and he remained at it until the rest of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) had journeyed, and he took leave of the Frankish (al-Afranǧîah) king at the

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(1) Cf. page 38, note 1.
(2) Cf. page 31, note 4.
(3) *I.e.* the Muslims.
(4) = 1221 A.D.
(5) *I.e.* Frederick II.
(6) A fortress on the Euphrates, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* map facing page 199.
(7) *Lit.* ' going '.
(8) *I.e.* with regard to the truce.
(9) *Lit.* ' sea '.
(10) *I.e.* at Damietta.
(11) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 188.
(12) = August 29th-September 7th, Julian Style.

around it seven moats, and the people would become weak at looking at it (Damietta), much less besieging it, because they would not (be able) to annihilate this garrison, except its double were annihilated (of the Muslims), and their opinion was agreed upon for a truce, and messengers were passing frequently between them. And a truce was arranged that they should deliver up Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1], and (that) each side should give back what it had of the captives of the other from the beginning of the time (of the war) up tell now; and the truce was arranged for eight years. And the king[2] and the two kings[3] and the leaders stayed with the Sultan, until they[4] delivered up Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1]. And the Franks (al-Farang̃) took with them hostages, for fear that Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, son of the Sultan, and Ḳuṭb ad-Dîn, his brother, and Šams ad-Dîn, the son of his sister, and a group of the notables of the amîrs should prove false to them. And they left them (the hostages) in a ship at the shore of the Salt Sea[5]. And the Sultan showed kindness to the king (of the Franks) and to those who were with him, the like of which is not to be told. And he provided them with all what they needed, and he honoured them with great honour, and he commanded that there should be borne to their camp bread, and pomegranates and melons which were not to be counted. And he commanded the people that they should cross over to their[6] camp[7] to trade with them[8], and their tents became, as it were, a market[9] of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and they sold and they bought. And the Sultan and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) rejoiced exceedingly[10], because they were expecting that they would be overcome and (that) the lands would pass out from their hands. And they

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[1] Cf. page 31, note 4.
[2] *I.e.* the Frankish king.
[3] *I.e.* the Muslim kings.
[4] *I.e.* the Franks.
[5] *I.e.* the Mediterranean Sea.
[6] *I.e.* the Franks'.
[7] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 819.
[8] *Lit* ' to sell to them and to buy from them '.
[9] *Lit.* ' a market of the markets '.
[10] *Lit.* ' a great rejoicing '.

And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), as time passed, became stronger, and they (the Franks) became weaker, and their supplies were exhausted and they faced destruction. And they came to an agreement regarding their affair on the eve of the day of Friday [1], the fourth of (the month of) An-Nasî [2], that they should kindle fires and abandon some of the tents of which they had no need, and that they should depart and attack the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) which were between [3] them and Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [4]; for there was no strength in them to join the port (of Damietta) and to defend the wall, for if they defended it, they would gain no advantage. And their plan was denounced [5] to the Sultan on the same night, and he rode and the troops rode, and it was the time of (the inundation of) the Nile (an-Nîl), and they (the Franks) were inexperienced with regard to the country. And the Sultan commanded to open the canals which were on their (the Franks') way and to break the causeways and their channels on all sides. And they (the Franks) retreated until they reached Al-Baramûn [6], and they saw themselves in the midst of the inundation without a way for them. And they assembled in one place, and the fighting was fierce for the rest of the eve of Friday [1], and the day of Friday and the eve of Saturday [7], until it was the morning of Saturday, and messengers were coming frequently. And the Sultan discussed the matter with the company, and he informed them that these companies of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) * were doomed to extermination, but that (their) extermination would not be until (there was) a like extermination of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). Then Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [4] would never surrender, because there were in it ninety thousand warriors, besides those who had left (it). And they had made

* Fol. 304 v°

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[1] *I.e.* Thursday night.

[2] = August 27th, Julian Style.

[3] *Lit.* ' between them and between '.

[4] Cf. page 31, note 4.

[5] *Lit.* ' There was a denouncing of them '.

[6] For Al-Baramûn, cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 88. For an account of this defeat, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades,* pp. 301-304 and R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* p. 255 and in particular note (1).

[7] *I.e.* Friday evening.

al-Akhar, (in the) year six hundred and eighteen [1] which corresponds to the fifteenth of (the month of) Misrâ [2]. And they remained closed for the rest of Monday, so that nothing was found to be eaten, and the people did not trade on these two days; but the bells were rung [3] in the two cities [4]. (And) of all the groups of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) he who spent this night in the city would be hanged. And the governors (al-Wulât) on horseback rushed upon the people in their houses, and they took them out from them, and he whom they found who did not journey, was pierced through and burned in it, so that there did not remain, except the women. And these were days, the like of which in the way of fear and hardship and anxiety for all the people, had not been witnessed; and they were the days of (the rise of) the Nile (an-Nîl), but none paid attention to it nor went up to it. Then there arrived Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, Sultan of Syria (aš-Šâm), and Al-Malik al-Ašraf, Sultan of the East, and some other kings with them, such as the Possessor of Emesa (Ḥimṣ) [5] and the Possessor of Hamah (Ḥamâh) [5], and the troops and the armies; and they crossed over from Ašmûn [6], and they cut off the Franks (al-Afranǧ) and they were between [7] them and Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [8] by land. And the fleet of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) went out from the mouth of the river [9] Al-Maḥallat al-Baḥarî, and it cut off (communications) between [10] the ships of the Franks (al-Afranǧ) and the port (of Damietta). And they were (in such a position) that provisions could not come to them either by land or by river [9], and news could not come to them concerning Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [8], and news could not come to it concerning them, and they continued thus for some days.

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[1] *I.e.* of the Hiǧrah = 1221 A.D.

[2] = August 8th, Julian Style.

[3] *Lit.* ' struck '.

[4] *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

[5] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* p. 606.

[6] Cf. page 55, note 3.

[7] *Lit.* ' between them and between '.

[8] Cf. page 67, note 9.

[9] *Lit.* ' sea '.

[10] *Lit.* ' between the ships of the Franks and between '.

mentioned enemy was (to capture) the Possessor of Arbela (Irbil)[1], and they found that he had arrived at ? Šahrûr, and he did not meet with them, but he returned immediately without fighting and without defeat. And Al-Malik al-Ašraf returned to Harran (Ḥarrân)[2], and his brother Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, Possessor of Syria (aš-Šâm), journeyed to him and they both met there. And he assembled the troops, and they both raised an army, and they set out for Egypt (Miṣr) to aid their brother Al-Malik al-Kâmil against his enemy who were the Franks (al-Afranǧ), the possessors of Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[3]. And there had reached the Franks (al-Afranǧ) succour also by way of the sea. And they gathered together, and they mobilized, and they went out from Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[3] by land and on the river[4], moving slowly from camp[5] to camp[5], until they reached opposite to the camp[5] of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) at the head of the river[4] at Ašmûm[6] on the north, and the river[4] remained a separation between them. And the lands were troubled on account of their going forth, and the Sultan sent (an order) to march to all the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) * to go out to them. And the governors (al-Wulât) gathered them, and they appointed at every market a group of men to incite them and to take them away; and they collected a multitude, and they sent to them (the Muslims) a great number and well armed. And, in the meanwhile, the Sultan had despatched the amîr Ḥusâm ad-Dîn Yûnis, governor (Wâlî) of Alexandria, to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) to evacuate from them all without exception, and he sent to every work an amîr to do thus. And the common of the people and the majority of them (the inhabitants) went out, so that there did not remain, except for a decrepit old man or a child (who) had not reached puberty. And the two cities[7] were closed in the daytime of Sunday, the eighteenth of (the month of) Ǧumâdâ

* Fol. 304 r°

[1] Cf. page 73, note 7.

[2] For these towns, cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, map facing pages 596.

[3] Cf. page 31, note 4.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ sea ’.

[5] *Lit.* ‘ dwelling ’.

[6] Cf. page 67, note 9.

[7] *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

some of the ports and the Egyptian (al-Miṣriyah) or Syrian (aš-Šâmiyah) coasts, and they would pillage and take captives and return. And the tribulation became intense in the way of dearness and fear and oppression; and good oil [1] reached three dirhams the raṭl, and the Church was without him who pastures her and directs her. Then prices increased also until (it was) that wheat reached three dînârs the ardab, and it did not cease thus until the Feast of Easter (al-Fiṣḥ). And it (the wheat) went down (in price), and the people became optimistic, and it did not cease to go down, until wheat reached one dînâr the ardab, and barley and beans (al-Fûl), half a dînâr the ardab. And the news arrived of the coming out of a king from the East, called King of China (aṣ-Ṣîn) [2], and with him people [3] from the Turks (al-Atrâk), the Kata (al-Ḳaṭâ) and the Kipchaks (al-Ḳafğah), and that he had overcome Khwarzim (Khwârzim) Shah (Šâh), King of Persia (al-Furs). And he conquered Khwarzim (Khwârzim) [4], and Bukhara (Bukhârâ) [5] and Al-Maraghah (al-Marâghah) [6] and many cities from the Land of Persia (al-ʿAğam), and had made captive their inhabitants. And he reached to the Kurds (al-Kurğ), and he overcame them, and he came to the Land of Arbela (Irbil) [7]; and the lands were afraid of him, because it was related that with him (were) many thousands of soldiers and people [8], a hundred thousand or more. And Al-Malik al-Ašraf, son of Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, the Possessor of Khilat (Khilâṭ) [9] and Martyropolis (Maiyâfariḳîn) and Harran (Ḥarrân) and Singar (Singâr) [10] and what is with them [11] up to the Land of Mosul (al-Maûṣul) [12], arrived. And the intention of the

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[1] *I.e.* olive oil.

[2] *I.e.* Ghengiz Khan.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[4] The modern Khîva, cf. P.K. Hitti, *History of Syria,* map facing page 458.

[5] Cf. P.K. Hitti, *op. cit.,* map facing page 458.

[6] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* map facing page 596.

[7] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* map facing page 596 (Erbil).

[8] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[9] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* map facing page 103.

[10] For these towns, cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* map facing page 596.

[11] *Lit.* ‘ that ’.

[12] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* map facing page 199.

chickpeas there were few at two dînârs the ardab. And more was irrigated in the lands than what was irrigated in the past year, and seeds were exhausted through the need of the people and their fear [1]. And he (the Sultan) commanded that the grains of the merchants should be taken and an advance [2] should be made (for sowing) the lands. And documents with the price should be written to the account of the military and their subalterns till a prosperous time (arrived). And they did this in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), and all * the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah), so that it would happen (that) they would enter into a house, and (if) they found in it wheat, were it but a waîbah, they would take (it), and they would leave (the house) without anything. And when they planted, God sent at the end of (the months of) Bâbah [3] and Hatûr [4] locusts, the like of which with regard to abundance and greatness had never been seen in the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah). And they were red, but those which came in the Tax Year were yellow; and they devoured most of what was planted, and they went up especially to the places which (were) around the two cities [5], and the Fayum (al-Fayûm) [6]. Then price(s) fluctuated in (the month of) Ṭûbah [7], and wheat reached a hundred dirhams the ardab, and barley and beans (al-Fûl) sixty dirhams the ardab; and corn was scarce in the hands of the people, and famine spread, and the poor of the people multiplied, and the wretched and the beggars (were) at the doors. And as for the affair of the enemy (the Franks) in this long period, it was in (the same) state [8]. Sometimes, the fleet of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) went out on the sea, and (if) they chanced on ships with provisions and reinforcements, they would take them; and sometimes they (the Franks) would go out to

* Fol. 303 v°

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[1] *I.e.* of a famine.

[2] *I.e.* to the farmers.

[3] = October 8th-November 6th, Julian Style.

[4] = November 7th-December 6th, Julian Style.

[5] *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).

[6] Cf. page 7, note 5.

[7] = January 6th-February 4th, Julian Style. These dates must be advanced by one day in a Leap Year.

[8] *Lit.* ‘on one state’.

hanged themselves, and a number departed from their faith, but this did not avail them. Then, when it was towards the Holy (Feast of) Easter (al-Fiṣḥ) — and this was the end of (the month of) Baramhât [1] — there came upon the land in the way of locusts something the like of which had never been seen in the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah), so that they filled the open space and veiled the heaven and devoured everything green. And the people feared from this, and they understood that it was a chastisement from God for the successive oppression, and they (the locusts) (were) on everything, so that they destroyed almost (everything). And on the eve of Monday which was (after) the morning of Easter Sunday [2] which corresponds to the eleventh of (the month of) Baramûdah [3], there came a black wind, so that the people thought that the resurrection [4] had begun, and they thought that no wall would remain standing on the earth; and there fell down of the date-palms many, and there appeared fires in the sky, and it was a great night, and no one could sleep on it. And when it was morning, this disturbance and confusion abated, and they found (that) some places had fallen down, and some of them were safe. And the demand and the confiscation remained as before [5], and the bishops (were) as agents, and (they were) beaten, and the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) of the land [6] also. And the year nine hundred and thirty-seven [7] entered, and the Nile (an-Nîl) reached in this blessed year to two fingers above seventeen cubits, and it the year nine hundred and thirty-seven [7] corresponds to the year six hundred and seventeen of the Islamic Hiǧrah. And the prices remained as before [5], increasing and decreasing [8]. Very excellent wheat for one hundred and fifty dînârs the hundred ardabs, and barley and beans (al-Fûl) for a hundred dînârs for a hundred ardabs; as for

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[1] = March 7th-April 5th, Julian Style.

[2] *Lit.* ‘ the Sunday of Terms ’.

[3] = April 6th, Julian Style.

[4] *I.e.* the general resurrection on the Last Day.

[5] *Lit.* ‘ on their state ’.

[6] *Lit.* ‘ lands ’.

[7] = 1220 A.D.

[8] *Lit.* ‘ taking and giving ’.

said : «I desire the due of the patriarch», and he caused it to be brought straightway. And it was a former due, and in it (were) old things before the dearth, and things (which) the patriarch used not to exact, but their mention in the due (was) to preserve their amount, and they transferred them [1] as they were, and they sent a copy to the Sultan. And his order went out to the governors (al-Wulât) to exact what it (the copy) contained. And all of them began to aim at getting the better of and justifying himself above the other, and they exacted double the amount, and (as regards) all these days, nothing was seen in time more difficult than they. And there were delegated (people) to extract the money of the diyârîat [2], and the surveying and a sixth of the cost of the fruit of the gardens in Upper Egypt (al-Miṣr al-Ḳiblî) ; because they had made this obligatory in all the Land of Egypt (Miṣr), and they marked the date-palms also ; every date-palm five dirhams, * besides the customary tax. And there was an amîr called Al-Makram [I]bn al-Lamaṭî, and he was a Maghrabian (Maghrabî) man, and that which was abhorrent to him (were) the Christians (an-Naṣarâ). And he arrived in Cairo (Miṣr), and a group of those of whom he was, attached with ropes some of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and the Jews (al-Yahûd), and he inflicted on them punishments and scorn, until he took their signatures for an amount of eleven thousand dînârs, every one of them according to what was allotted to him, and he despatched it (the amount) with his letter to the Sultan. And he (the Sultan) regarded this as too much, and he disapproved of it, and he ordered that the signatures should be returned to those who signed [3]. And this was a rarity, the like of which did not occur in these days, and the signatures were returned. And [I]bn al-Lamaṭî turned to Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'îd) for the taxes of the surveying and the diyârîat [2] and the sixth of the cost of the fruit and the plantations of date-palms ; every upright date-palm, five dirhams, and this was in all the lands of Egypt (al-Miṣriyah). And the condition continued thus, and affliction increased on the people, so that a number

*Fol. 303 r°

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[1] *I.e.* the old things.
[2] Cf. page 34, note 4.
[3] *Lit.* ' their owners '.

And as for the Franks (al-Afranğ), news of them used to be brought concerning (their) justice and clemency and fair-dealing which were not to be described. And the black dirhams which they had, reached (in value) one hundred dirhams for one dînâr on account of the abundance of them which they found at the port [1], and because they did not deal with them. And when it was the daytime of Tuesday, the sixteenth of (the month of) Amšîr [2], in the second week of the Holy Fast [3], there occurred great rains, and they continued to the eve of Wednesday, and Wednesday and the half of the eve of Thursday; and in the second half (of it) there came forth a great wind, and it did not cease until the noon of Thursday, and it demolished many places, and many died under the debris, and it was a wonderful occurrence, the like of which had not been witnessed. Then, after that, the order went out to collect the diyârîah [4] which the patriarch used to exact from the dioceses and the churches, and there was delegated for every affair one for this. And he (the Sultan) wrote to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to collect what belonged to each of them. And the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) caused to be brought the priests of the churches, and he said to them : «Give to us what the patriarch used to take from you». And they said : «The custom of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) was not that he (the patriarch) should take anything from them (the churches)». He (the governor) said : «Write for us a certificate that ye never paid anything to the patriarch», and one of them hastened and said : «O my sire, we will bring the due of the patriarch, and he who is guarantor in his name for anything, let him discharge (it)». He (the governor) said : «And where (is) the due of the patriarch?» They said : «It is with [I]bn Ṣadaḳah», meaning him who has been mentioned before [5]. And he (the governor) caused him to be brought, and he

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(1) *I.e.* of Damietta.

(2) = February 11th, Julian Style.

(3) *I.e.* Lent.

(4) *I.e.* the yearly contribution given to the patriarch from churches and monasteries.

(5) Cf. page 33.

strongly fortified, and no one thought that it would be taken, And it was said that they (the Franks) found in it six thousand men, and it was said (also) eleven thousand; however, they took captive all whom they found in it, except the Christians (an-Naṣârâ). And as for the Muslims (al-Muslimûn), they said that there did not remain in it, except six hundred souls, but this was not correct. And those who were trustworthy related that the gate of the port [1] was closed against forty-six thousand men, apart from women and children. And the Franks (al-Afranǧ) fixed their residence in the port [1], and they established their base in it. And it was after the departure of Al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam that the Sultan sent to summon the Companion Ṣafî ad-Dîn 'Abd Allah [I]bn 'Alî who had been the wazîr of his father, whom he had entrusted with the administration of his kingdom. And he carried this out with circumspection against a group of scribes, Muslims (al-Muslimîn), Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and Jews (al-Yahûd); and he inflicted on them punishments, and he demanded from them money, and the prisons were filled with them, and (there were) some of them who departed from their belief through the hardship and the punishment, and (there were) some of them of whom some members were maimed, and they were most unbearable days. * And during that time they surveyed the buildings of the people and their properties in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), and they exacted their revenues for two months and they were hard days for the people, and they did not come out from anything, except to enter into what was worse than it. And they suppressed the halls of the hostels [2] altogether and all the inns in which there were sold goods such as linen and other than it. And it was ordered that nothing should be sold, except in the hall of the hostel of the Sultan which (was) in the House of the King, and that the brokerage should be for the Sultan. And they inspected the papers of the people and what (was) in their hands; and the time became hard for the people [3], and if they had been able to go out, no one would have remained in the land.

* Fol. 302 v°

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[1] *I.e.* of Damietta.

[2] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 838.

[3] *Lit.* ' world '.

Hatûr [1], (in the) year nine hundred and thirty-six the aforementioned [2], which corresponds to the twenty-fifth of (the month of) Šaʿbân (in the) year six hundred and sixteen [3]. And it was a great night and a remarkable day, and the Muslims (al-Muslimûn) did not perceive this [4], until they saw the standards of the Franks (al-Afranğ) and the crosses on the towers and the watch-tower, and, thereupon, they knew that the port [5] was taken. And the kings of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) departed straightway, and they left the merchants and the common people in the camp [6]. And it was (that every) man of them had no interest except to save himself, and they left all their wealth and their merchandise; and, on this occasion also, there was lost in the way of wealth what was not to be counted. And the Sultan came and he descended opposite to Talkhâ [7] at the head of the river [8] of Ašmûm [9] on the south. And as for Al-Malak al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Possessor of Syria (aš-Šâm), he turned to his lands, and he descended at Gaza (Ghazzah) [10]. And the reports [11] were contradictory about the conquest of the port [5]; some people said (that) it was not conquered except with the collusion of its inhabitants, on account of what they suffered in it in the way of hardship, and some people said (that) it was not conquered except by the sword (and) by force. And it was said that they (the Franks) found in it [12], in the way of wealth, ḳanṭars and ḳanṭars of gold and silver. And as for the weapons and the chain-armour of the kings and the amîrs and the soldiers, he (the Sultan) had made all what was costly in it, that is, Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [13], because it was

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(1) = November 4th, Julian Style.
(2) = 1219 A.D.
(3) *I.e.* Era of the Hiğrah.
(4) *I.e.* the capture of Damietta.
(5) *I.e.* of Damietta.
(6) *Lit.* ‘dwelling’.
(7) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, Plate II *b*.
(8) *Lit.* ‘sea’.
(9) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171 and Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
(10) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.
(11) *Lit.* ‘sayings’.
(12) *I.e.* Damietta.
(13) Cf. page 53, note 6.

and they besieged them on both banks. And the Sultan sent to the two cities [1] to seek for empty jars and all empty earthenware vessels, in order to fill them with sand and to fill up with them the entrenchment. And this was proclaimed in Cairo (Miṣr), and there was collected on the bank [2] of the river [3], in the way of jars and pots, countless thousands, and most of them were brought to the camp. And they returned to discuss about the truce, and the Franks (al-Afranğ) complied with it to some extent [4], so that the two kings withdraw from their (the Franks') entrenchment on both the banks. Then they (the Franks) returned and they widened the entrenchment and they strengthened the towers, and they renounced the truce. And al-Malik (al-Kâmil) was angered, and he sent his brother, Al-Malik al-Fâîz, to the East to seek help, and he caused him to dress in mourning, and he caused him to journey in a litter. And the troops of the Franks (al-Afranğ) divided into two parts, a part marched to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5] by turns night and day, and a part guarded the side of the entrenchment opposite to the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And the condition continued thus, giving and taking; and the news came afterwards * that the port [6] had become weak, and (that) the majority of those in it had died. And the Sultan prepared seven hundred fighting footmen, and he gave to them a gratification, and he arranged with them that they should make a single attack by night, and should enter with impetuosity into the port [6]. And they did this, and the majority of them was slain, and a few of them surrendered and they passed over (to the Franks). And it was only a night or two [7], after their passing over, that the Franks (al-Farang) conquered the port of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5] in the night (which) was unveiled by the morning of the daytime of Tuesday, the eight of (the month of)

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[1] *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).
[2] *Lit.* 'shore'.
[3] *Lit.* 'sea'.
[4] *Lit.* 'compliance'.
[5] Cf. page 31, note 4.
[6] *I.e.* of Damietta.
[7] *Lit.* 'two nights'.

been cancelled. And the order of the Sultan came that all who (were) at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) should go out to the invaders. And the bells were rung [1] for it, and the majority of the people went out in haste [2], and he closed the two cities. And the price of wheat returned to a low level on account of the anxiety of the people for themselves, so that every ardab reached one dînâr and a half and one dînâr and a quarter, and it did not find a buyer. And there was great affliction and severe hardship, except that, at first, they did not harm the Dhimah [3], but after that [4], the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) seized the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and he hanged them on the doors of their houses, and he caused them to turn the mills. And he said to them : «I wish from you money», and he took from them what they were able and what they were not able (to pay), so that the weavers alone of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) are recorded to have paid one thousand, three hundred dînârs, and the matter became severe for the people. And as for the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), when he saw what the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) had done, he caused to be brought the priests of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and he said to them : «Ye have heard what the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) has done, and I advise you that ye gather together with one another and that ye collect among you a thousand dînârs, and that ye bring them, otherwise, I shall extract them, and I shall not take, except five thousand». And they complained to him, and they expressed (their) grievance, and he reduced (the amount) to eight hundred dînârs, And they went out, (and) they sat in the churches, and they began to extract (the amount). And there were hard days for all the world, and among all what happened in them (was) that the Sultan had, during the time mentioned, marched towards the Franks (al-Afranğ). And he descended at the side of their entrenchment on the western bank, and Al-Malak al-Fâîz descended at the side of their entrenchment on the eastern bank,

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ struck ’. In the East, bells are struck, not rung.

(2) *Lit.* ‘ on their faces ’.

(3) Cf. page 37, note 4.

(4) *Lit.* ‘ and when it was after that ’.

opened on Thursday, the fourteenth of (the month of) Tût [1], and it (the Canal) dried up on the Thursday which followed it [2], and people walked in the middle of it. And the Baḥr Abû'l-Manağğâ [3] was opened (on) the Sunday which was the Feast of the Holy Cross [4]. And at that time, the water decreased a whole cubit, and it was of no use, and it did not carry water into the Birkit al-Habaš [5], except streamlets. And as for the Arḍ aṭ-Ṭabbâlah [6], it was not watered at all; and there was not irrigated of the lands in this year, except a few, such as the Fayum (al-Fayûm) [7] and the district of Abûsîr (al-Bûsîrîah) [8], and of Dinğâwîah (ad-Dinğâwîah) [9] and of Al-Bašmûr [10] and what was similar to them of the lands of (the Province of) Al-Gharbîah [11]. And he (the Sultan) bore the majority of the captives who were taken at this defeat to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) the protected, and he paraded the city with them, and he retained the leaders from among them with the troops so that they might fix terms for the truce. And they deliberated about it, until it was almost decided that they (the Franks) should take Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds), after it had been (re)-built for them, and all that was in their hands of what Al-Malak an-Nâṣir had conquered, and the affair remained undecided between them. *Fol. 301 v° * And the price of corn rose, until wheat was sold at two dînârs and a half for the ardab, and it was not possible (to obtain) it, except with extreme difficulty. Then news arrived that succour had reached the Franks (al-Afranğ) and that the truce had

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[1] = September 11th, Julian Style.

[2] *I.e.* the preceding Thursday.

[3] For the watercourse called Baḥr Abû'l-Manağğâ, cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, Plates VI and II *b* and the map, La Basse Égypte : Le Cadastre de Mohammad Ali.

[4] *I.e.* September 14th, Julian Style.

[5] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 140.

[6] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *idem*, p. 139.

[7] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-340.

[8] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, Plate V.

[9] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 382 and *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 168.

[10] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *idem*, p. 104.

[11] Cf. page 48, note 2.

price of wheat increased until it reached sixty dînârs for the hundred ardabs. Then (it was) that the Nile (an-Nîl) remained stationary [1], and the price fluctuated [2]. And when it was Thursday, the sixth of (the month of) An-Nasî [3], because it was a Leap-Year [4], the Franks (al-Afranğ) advanced against the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) on land and by sea, and they were defeated before them. And the Franks (al-Farang) had thought that the water which (was) in the entrenchment of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) was fresh, but when they reached the aforementioned entrenchment from the sandy side, and it was a place distant from the sea, they tasted the water and they found it salty, and they turned back on their traces of their own accord without that anyone had defeated them. And when the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) saw them (that) they retreated, they pursued them, and they were emboldened against them, and there was a great defeat for them (the Franks). And there were taken of their cavalry about four hundred knights among whom there was a group of Counts and leaders, and there were slain of the men and of the knights [5] to the number of two thousand souls. And there arrived letters concerning this, and birds [6] were flown, and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) were decorated, and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) rejoiced exceedingly [7] on account of this. And there entered the year nine hundred and thirty-six of the Martyrs [8], and the Nile (an-Nîl) was low [9], and the maximum which it reached (was) fifteen cubits, and it did not remain stationary at it [10], but it decreased and continued its decrease. And the Canal of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) the protected [11] was

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[1] *I.e.* the waters of the Nile did not increase.
[2] *Lit.* ‘ took and gave ’.
[3] = August 29th, Julian Style.
[4] In Leap Years the month of An-Nasî has six instead of five days.
[5] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 38.
[6] *I.e.* pigeons.
[7] *Lit.* ‘ a great rejoicing ’.
[8] = 1219 A.D.
[9] *Lit.* ‘ shortened ’.
[10] *I.e.* at fifteen cubits.
[11] Cf. page 49, note 6.

great fear and anxiety for Syria (aš-Šâm) on account of it, and prices became high in it. And as for the lands of Egypt (Miṣr), the prices in them were low during all these days. Then (it was) that the Franks (al-Afranǧ) made ready great rafts and large towers, and they advanced towards Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1] by land and by sea for seven successive days in the middle decade of (the month of) Abîb[2], and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) advanced to them, and they remained fighting night and day. Then (it was) that the Franks (al-Afranǧ) postponed (to bring up) their engines against Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1], and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) returned to their camp[3], and the affair remained as it was before. And they (the Muslims) before that had stirred up trouble about the Church of Saint Mark (Markuṣ) which (was) on the outskirts of Alexandria, known as Al-Ḳamḥâ, and the order was issued to demolish it[4]. And the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) offered two thousand dînârs for it to be spared, but it was not accepted, and it was said that it was necessary to demolish it, * since this (church) was a danger to the port, because it was provided with a tower over-(looking) it, and the enemy might attack the port from it, if they descended upon it. And the greater part of it (the church) was demolished by the command of the Sultan, so that there did not remain of it, except one ḳâmat[5]. And when it was the Friday which followed its demolition, the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) prayed the prayer of Friday, and they went out to it, and they demolished the remainder of it to the ground. And there was great grief for the denomination[6], and continuous dejection and manifest affliction, and this was in the beginning of (the month of) Abîb[2]. Then (it was) that the water (of the Nile) delayed (in rising) in this year, so that it came at the end of (the month of) Abîb[2], and it was about six cubits, and the

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[1] Cf. page 31, note 4.
[2] The month of Abîb is from June 25th to July 24th, Julian Style.
[3] *Lit.* ‘ dwelling ’.
[4] *I.e.* the church. Cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern,* p. 114.
[5] A ḳâmat is a measure of the height of a man.
[6] *I.e.* the Copts.

entrenchment on both the banks and both the causeways at the river [1], and they had erected at the entrenchment towers and barrels like the wall of a city, and they placed behind it archers and warriors, and they became (such) that no one was able to approach them. Then the opinion of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) was agreed upon to dam the river [1] of the east at Zifta [2] that all the water should be borne to the river [1] of the west; and they began on this, and they took for it ships and equipment and implements, and its daming was completed in the daytime of Friday, the fifteenth of (the month of) Bašuns [3] (in the) year nine hundred and thirty-five [4], after great toil and much expenditure, so that it became a way, and the ships no longer ascended nor descended in it. And it (the dam) was cut on the same night [5], and all the toil on it was lost; and it was related that he (the Sultan) had lost on it one thousand, seven hundred dînârs, and the water flowed [6] to its place, and he despaired of daming it a second time, and he left it in its state. And he (the Sultan) demolished Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds aš-Šarîf) [7] in Baramûdah [8] of the aforementioned year, after he had evacuated it of its inhabitants; and there did not remain in it except (the Church of) the Holy Resurrection [9] and the Tower of David (Dâûd) [10] and the Prayer-house (al-Masǧîd) of the Rock [11] and the Mosque (al-Ǧâmaʿ) known as Al-Aḳṣâ [12]. And he demolished the remainder of its walls and its houses and its hosteleries, and there befell the people by reason of its demolition a

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ sea ’.

[2] A place four or five miles north of Manṣûra, where the Nile divided, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* p. 233.

[3] = May 10th, Julian Style.

[4] = 1219 A.D.

[5] *Lit.* ‘ its night ’.

[6] *Lit.* ‘ was borne ’.

[7] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* p. 222.

[8] = March 27th-April 25th, Julian Style.

[9] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 114-138.

[10] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 174-175.

[11] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 202-209.

[12] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 210-212.

(al-Wâlî), and they used every means[1] until they made it[2] one thousand, two hundred dînârs; and they returned to what was (still) remaining, and they imposed it on the churches, every church according to its capability, until they reached to the outer[3] monasteries, such as the Monastery of *Ṭammûh[4] and the Monastery of the Beacon[5], and others beside them, and they took from them the portion[6]. And they went up to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and they asked help from its inhabitants, and not one of them gave to them anything, and they returned disappointed, because they were those who had opposed in the affair of the priest David (Dâûd) in the matter of the patriarchate. And they did not cease (this), until they had paid off the mentioned amount. And they did not sell vessels nor buildings nor did they pawn (anything), but they were hard days, and many of the churches were closed for many days on account of this portion[6]. And he (the Sultan) had taken into service from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) ten thousand men, and he caused them to journey, and the majority of them were the Maghâribah[7], and they destroyed every church which they found on their way until they reached the camp. And the march was arranged that it should be on Palm Sunday[8], and they marched to the Franks (al-Farang̈), and there was slain the majority of those men who destroyed the churches, and he who escaped from the slaughter fled away, and a company of them reached Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), ships full of them. Then they made[9] another march, and they did not attain to (their) goal, because the Franks (al-Farang̈) had made against them an

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(1) *Lit.* ‘they entered into every entrance’.
(2) *I.e.* the amount.
(3) *I.e.* outside Cairo.
(4) Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198 and 312-313, O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, pp. 245-246.
(5) Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-196.
(6) *I.e.* the amount to be paid.
(7) Cf. page 55, note 5.
(8) *Lit.* ‘the Day of Olives’.
(9) *Lit.* ‘marched’.

those who were present of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭ) priests : «These [1] (are) a handful [2] (compared) to you. We shall make them a tenth, (so) give to us ten thousand dînârs», and, finally, they settled for them three thousand dînârs. And all of them went out under guard [3], and a rope was hung in the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah [4], and a rope in the Church of the Melkites (al-Malakîah) [5], and a rope in the Synagogue (Kanîsat) of the Jews (al-Yahûd), because the last had weighed out the first time, when something was sought from the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) five hundred dînârs, and they settled for them this time six hundred dînârs. And there occurred scourging among the people and hanging and arrests and affronts. And it was the priests who were those who called out the names of the people, and they apportioned to them the portions, and it was the days of Holy Lent [6], and they were days of severe handship and great persecution. And as for the Melkites (al-Malakîah) [5], they collected from their people what they were able, and there remained an amount owing by them, and they caused to be taken out the silver vessels which they possessed, and they pawned them at one of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), a jurisconsult, called the juristconsult Naṣr, for two hundred dînârs against two hundred and fifty dînârs, and they delivered them. And as for the Copts (al-Ḳibṭ), they fleeced the people entirely [7], and it is not conceivable that anyone remained without a mulct, except only a few, and the total which was collected for them (was) one thousand, one hundred dînârs. And some of them used to prosecute others, and it was (that) everyone who wished to relieve himself, undertook a lawsuit and became an extortioner [8]. And they assembled with the governor

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[1] *I.e.* the Melkites.
[2] *Lit.* 'a finger'.
[3] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 528.
[4] Cf. page 1, note 6.
[5] *I.e.* the Greek Orthodox.
[6] *Lit.* 'Holy Fast'.
[7] *Lit.* 'an extremity of fleecing'.
[8] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 360.

of it [1], in the way of winds and rains and severe cold, the like of which had never been witnessed, * and the conditions of this year were all of them amazing (and) strange. And after this, an order of the Sultan came to send out half of the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to the fight, voluntarily or by compulsion. And the majority of the people went out, and the privileged for whom it was not becoming to go out used to buy themselves off [2] with the price [3] at which they were estimated, in the way of gold, everyone of them according to his condition. And as for the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) who were in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), they collected a tax from them, together with those who had means of livelihood, everyone who was earning a livelihood, with people of means; and they were not imposed upon, nor anyone of the inhabitants of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And, finally, they collected in tax from the scribes who resided in it, and they favoured some and they exempted some. And as for Cairo (Miṣr), its governor (Wâlî) was guided by the jurisconsults, and he brought the priests of the churches which (belonged) to the Copts (al-Ḳibṭ) and to the Melkites (al-Malakîah) [4], and he said to them : «Go out!» [5], and he threatened them, and he said : «Ye, go ye out with the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), but ye will not reach with them to the gate of the city before they will kill you». And no one was able to say to them (the Muslims) at this time anything. And the tendency of the saying was chiefly for the Melkites (al-Malakîah) [4], because they used to spread evil reports about them, that they loved the Franks (al-Afranǧ), and that they (acted) according to their [6] law in the arrangement of the hair and the omission of circumcision, and what is similar to that. And fear worked in them, and one of them hastened and he said : «We have a thousand dînârs». And they said : «It is a blessing, arise, fetch the thousand dînârs!» And they said to

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[1] = April 10th, Julian Style.
[2] *Lit.* 'redeem their souls'.
[3] *Lit.* 'what'.
[4] *I.e.* the Greek Orthodox.
[5] *I.e.* to the digging.
[6] *I.e.* the Franks'.

they commenced the building of it from Cairo (Miṣr) at the House of the King, and from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) from the Pearl (Palace)[1]. And they made its foundations of stone and the remainder of it with earth, the work of the Maghâribah[2]. Then they exacted the tax (Ğawâlî) of the Dhimah[3] for the year six hundred and sixteen[4], on Monday, the eighteenth of (the month of) Dhû'l-Ḥiğğah of the year six hundred and fifteen[5]. Then their opinion changed concerning the building of the wall with earth, and they demolished what the Maghâribah[2] had made, and they started building with sun-dried bricks. Then the order came to take away the bricks of the properties[6] of all the people in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), and he (the Sultan) began with taking away the bricks. And as for what was in the way of the order to the troops to pass over to the western bank, they arrived near to the camp[7] of the Franks (al-Afranğ), on Sunday, the seventh of (the month of) Baramhât[8]. And God sent a stormy wind and rains, and the river[9] became agitated and rose up to them[10], and if they had not succeeded in retreating, they would have been drowned. And they returned, and they did not achieve (their) purpose, and they passed over to the eastern bank, and they descended at Fâraskûr[11] and what was neighbouring to it. And in this year there was a winter, the like of which had not been witnessed in the Egyptian (al-Miṣrîah) lands, so that there occurred in them, from the eighth of (the month of) Baramhât[12] up to the fifteenth

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(1) For the Pearl Palace or Pavilion in Cairo built by the Calif al-ʿAzîz, cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* pp. 123 and 125.

(2) See page 55, note 5.

(3) Cf. page 37, note 4.

(4) = 1220 A.D.

(5) = 1219 A.D.

(6) *I.e.* buildings.

(7) *Lit.* ' dwelling '.

(8) = April 2nd, Julian Style.

(9) *Lit.* ' sea '.

(10) *I.e.* the troops.

(11) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.,* p. 363 and Plate II *b.*

(12) = April 3rd, Julian Style.

nothing useful was reached. And two or three days after this defeat mentioned before, Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Sultan of Syria (aš-Šâm), reached his brother Al-Malik al-Kâmil at Ašmûn [1]. And they agreed in their opinion [2], and they arrested ʿAlî Ibn al-Maštûb who was the senior of the amîrs, of whom it was related that he was the cause of the defeat, and they put fetters on him, and they journeyed with him to the Fortress of Al-Karak [3] fettered. Then it was related that he was exiled to the lands of the East. And there was much talk [4], and some people said that every Christian (Naṣrânî) in Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5] had been killed, and some people said that none had been killed, except the captives, because they found them remaining and wishing to escape to their companions. And as for the inhabitants of Minîat Ibn Salsîl [6], its inhabitants rose up against the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and they destroyed a group of them. And as the time passed, it became more severe, and the intrigues multiplied as time passed. Then he (the Sultan) ordered the surveying for increase of taxation of the properties of the people in Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and to collect from them the tax for two months. And the notables of Cairo (Miṣr) began to collect from its inhabitants something in proportion to their conditions, and they despatched it (as) an aid to the Sultan and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn), and they collected by two collections about three thousand dînârs. And when Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam, the king of Syria (aš-Šâm), arrived and met his brother, they agreed in their opinion [2] that they should pass over to the western bank (of the Nile), because the crossways of the Franks (al-Farang̃) were at it. And they passed over with the troops and the soldiers. And they [7] commanded the building of a wall from Cairo (Miṣr) to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to join together the two cities. And

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[1] See page 55, note 3.

[2] *Lit.* ‘ their opinion was agreed.

[3] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 392, and R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, Plate facing p. 224.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ And sayings increased and decreased ’.

[5] Cf. page 31, note 4.

[6] Unidentified.

[7] *I.e.* the two Sultans.

possession of a part of the eastern bank and nothing else. And it happened for them that they got possession of it, favoured in the way of good things and benefits, the value of which was not to be described nor defined nor counted. And they went up to the mentioned shore on Tuesday the aforementioned, and they took the tents with all what (was) in them, and the towers and the mangonels and the equipments and the chain-mail armour, the quantity of which was not to be counted. And they slew all whom they found who remained behind in the camp [1], because the people thought that their (the Franks') coming up to it would be slow, so they remained in it through greediness of what they could take away of their goods, and they were about three thousand souls. And they (the Franks) encompassed Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [2] on all sides, and they set up against it mangonels, and they strove in fighting against it. And as for the Sultan, he planted his standard at Ašmûn [3], and all who saw it from among the eminent amirs rallied [4] around it. And as for the Maghâribah [5] and the eunuchs, they dispersed into the lands, and the majority of them passed over to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and the people remained confused and their souls * were in great despair. And detractions multiplied against the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and some of the common people became violent towards them. And in these conditions the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) resolved and decided to survey for increase of taxation properties in Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), to take their rent for two months, and for helping the Sultan thereby, and they surveyed for increase of taxation Cairo (Miṣr), and they did not get anything out from it, and it (the taxation) was annulled. Then they returned to collect taxes from the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) in proportion to their conditions, in two ways, until they finished by taking from five dirhams upwards, and this was not found profitable, and

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ dwelling ’.

[2] Cf. page 31, note 4.

[3] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171, and *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 11.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ stood ’.

[5] *I.e.* the Berbers, cf. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, p. 570.

their ships on asses, and they launched them in that river, and they had in it a quantity of ships, and the condition continued thus for a period. And the Sultan came back, (and) he sank ships before the place to which they had ascended, and he placed them in three rows, and he set up on them masts, and he nailed upon them other masts broadwise. And when it was the Saturday which is between the two Carnivals [1], the Franks (al-Afranǧ) prepared their ships, and they ascended with them with their implements and their tents and their equipment and their arms, and the wind was favourable for them, and this day was the eighth of (the month of) Amšîr [2]. And they sailed as one body [3], and all the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) were summoned to the bank, their infantry and their cavalry, in the belief that they (the Franks) would reach to those masts and stop. And when they reached those masts, God made them for them like grass, and they snapped off all of them, and they accomplished ascending to the place to which they wished (to go), and it was the narrows of the river [4], and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) marvelled at this, and it was for them a severe day. And all the Franks (al-Afranǧ) and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) remained on Saturday and Sunday and Monday on watch against one another. And when it was on the eve of Tuesday [5], the eleventh of (the month of) Amšîr [6], there occurred a disaccord between the Sultan and one of the greatest of the amîrs known as Ibn al-Mašṭûb, in spite of their being in confusion and adversity, and this brought about the departure of them all by night and their leaving their tents and all their equipment and their implements. And in the morning, the Franks (al-Afranǧ) were astonished (and) believed that it was a stratagem, because they had been willing to suffer loss of the majority of them, so as to get

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[1] The First Carnival is the Sunday before the Fast of Nineveh (Jonah) and the Second Carnival is the Sunday before Lent which begins on a Monday. The period, therefore, between these two Sundays is thirteen days.

[2] = February 2nd, Julian Style.

[3] *Lit.* 'hand'.

[4] *Lit.* 'sea'.

[5] *I.e.* Monday evening.

[6] = February 5th, Julian Style.

wind was on the point of shaking the mountains, and there was great affliction, the like of which had not been witnessed. And the river [1] bore the raft which the Franks (al-Afranǧ) had constructed on six big transport-ships, and had made in them ladders and towers and passages of which the description is not possible, and it (the wind) cast it on to the shore of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). And in it were sixteen men of whom fourteen fought until they were slain, and two threw themselves into the river [1] and they returned to the other shore [2]. And the king [3] took the two of them, and he hanged them both, (saying) : «How (was it that) they were not slain and did not endure the fight as the rest?» And the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) crowded at this raft, and they saw that they had not strength for it, and that they could not understand its arrangement, and that they were not sure whether the Franks (al-Afranǧ) might multiply against them and take it from them, so they burned it, and it was a marvellous thing not to be described. And the Franks (al-Faranǧ) had ships at sea coming from Acre (ʿAkkâ) [4] and other (places) than it, because, since they had descended at this * camp [5], the ships did not cease (to come) to them. And all of it (the raft) was broken up and dragged to the banks, and something of it was taken to Gaza (Ghazzah) [6] and Al-ʿArîš [7] and (to) other (places) than them. And they (the Franks) had dug a watercourse, it was known as the Canal Az-Zaʿafarân, in order to pass their ships through it, because the Sultan had made rough [8] what (was) between the two towers, fearing their (the Franks') passing through with their big ships. And when the rains came and the great river [1] became high [9], it filled the canal which they had dug, and they had made their digging nearer to the river [1]; and they began to load

* Fol. 299 r°

[1] *Lit.* ' sea '.
[2] *I.e.* that held by the Franks.
[3] *I.e.* Jean de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem.
[4] Cf. page 45, note 10.
[5] *Lit.* ' dwelling '.
[6] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.
[7] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.
[8] Probably, by strewing rocks.
[9] *Lit.* ' rose '.

And when it was in the daytime of Friday, the twenty-seventh of (the month of) Bâbah [1], the Franks (al-Afranğ) marched towards the troops of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who had crossed over to the Bâr al-ʿArab, and they were about a thousand horsemen, because they were the entire body-guard of Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and there was added to them from the Arabs (al-ʿArab) and the Maghâzîz [2]. And they (the Franks) overcame them all, and they drove them to the river [3], and they took their horses and their equipment, and they slew a company of their champions, and none of them escaped, except a small number who threw themselves into the river [3] and were experienced in swimming. And terror waxed great, and the souls of the people were fearful, and the awe of the Franks (al-Afranğ) was magnified, and the resolve to meet them collapsed, and the condition continued thus. And the winter entered, and the Franks (al-Afranğ) passed the winter dominating the land. And when it was in the beginning of (the month of) Kîhak [4] there came a great tempest and stormy weather, and the lake [5] was flooded by what was carried to it from the Mediterranean Sea [6], and the camps [7] of the troops were submerged from Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [8] up to Al-ʿAdillîah [9], and it is the village which was renewed in the land of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [8] opposite to Burah [10] after the Franks (al-Farangğ) had taken Burah [10]. And on this occasion, numerous people [11] and beasts of burden perished, and the loss in the way of possessions, equipments and arms was beyond counting. And the river [3] overflowed, and the rains fell, and (it was) cold and the

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(1) *I.e.* the 24th October, Julian Style.

(2) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 210.

(3) *Lit.* ‘ sea ’.

(4) = 27th November to 27th December, Julian Style.

(5) *I.e.* Lake Manzalah.

(6) *Lit.* ‘ salt sea ’.

(7) *Lit.* ‘ tents ’.

(8) Cf. page 31, note 4.

(9) In the Governorate of Damietta, cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 251 and Plate II *b* and *Dictionnaire Géographique de l’Égypte*, p. 42.

(10) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

(11) *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

of the Nile (an-Nîl); and the Church was widowed [1] of a patriarch. Then (it was), that the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) agreed in their opinion, that they should go against the Franks (al-Afranǧ) and should move towards them. And there crossed over [2] of their cavalry some four thousand horsemen, and of the infantry the same. And they made ready from fifty to sixty boats, transport-ships and fire-ships, and they proceeded on the river [3]. And as for the cavalry, their advance was from the south, and they reached * to the entrenchment of the Franks (al-Afranǧ), and they found it impregnable, and behind it a guard of warriors, and they (could) not pass over it. And as for their infantry, they proceeded along the river [3], on the east of the camp [4] of the Franks (al-Afranǧ). And the Franks (al-Faranǧ) abandoned to them the extremities of the camp [5], and they gave way before them, and they pretended to them weakness and fewness, until they were in the midst of their camp [5]. Then they (the Franks) cut them off on the south. and they slew the majority of them, and there did not escape of them except he who threw himself into the river [3]; and the majority of those who threw themselves into the river [3] were drowned, because among them were those who did not know how to swim, the men of Syria (aš-Šâm). And of those who knew swimming, (he who) hastened without removing his clothes, and jumped with them into the river [3] was drowned. And as for those who (were) in the ships, when they saw what had happened [6] with the infantry, they remained in their place, and they (could) not return, and it was a great battle in the daytime of Tuesday, the eleventh of (the month of) Bâbah [7]. And the Sultan turned back, (and) he commanded the troops which had crossed over to return to the land of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [8], and he began mobilizing and collecting.

* Fol. 298 v°

(1) *Lit.* ‘ vacant ’.
(2) *I.e.* the watercourse.
(3) *Lit.* ‘ sea ’.
(4) *Lit.* ‘ dwelling ’.
(5) *Lit.* ‘ tents ’.
(6) *Lit.* ‘ was ’.
(7) *I.e.* the 8th October, Julian Style.
(8) Cf. page 31, note 4.

Muḥammad Ibn Aîyûb arrived [1]. And he was the grand Sultan and the great king, and his kingdom (was) from the Yemen (al-Yaman) up to Khilât [2], and he established every one of his sons in a kingdom. Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he was his heir-apparent, in Egypt (Miṣr), and it was he [3] who conquered the Yemen (al-Yaman) and had set up a son of his called Al-Malik al-Mas'ûd, and in Syria (aš-Šâm) Al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam [4], and in the East and Khilâṭ [2], Al-Malik al-Ašraf, and at Edessa (ar-Ruhâ) [5], Šihâb ad-Dîn Ghâzî, and in the Fortress of Ġa'bar [6], Al-Malik al-Ḥâfiẓ, and in the Fortress of Bosra (Buṣrâ) [7], and its districts, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâlaḥ, and in the Fortress of .... [8] and Hûnaîn [9] and Aš-Šaḳîf [9] and Paneas (Bânîâs) [9], Al-Malik al-'Azîz. And the people took the oath to Al-Malik al-Kâmil, that (he should be) the Sultan who (was) after him [3], and (he was mentioned) in the sermon (Khuṭbah) from the pulpit, and the coinage was struck in his name, while he was opposing the Franks (al-Afranǧ) at Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [10]. And the Nile (an-Nîl) reached in this year up to seven fingers above seventeen cubits, and it was the year nine hundred and thirty-five of the Coptic (Year) [11], and it decreased rapidly, and the majority of the Land of Egypt (al-Miṣrîah) was dried up, and the price of corn went up. And there came upon the people in this year three things : the death of the Sultan and the descent of the enemy on the land, and the lowness

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[1] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* pp. 219-220.

[2] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* Cartes 2 and 8.

[3] *I.e.* Al-Malik al-Kâmil.

[4] For all these sovereigns, cf. the Table facing page 212 in S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt.*

[5] Cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant,* map facing, p. 199.

[6] For the Fortress of Ġa'bar (Dja'bar), cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* map facing p. 199.

[7] Cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* map facing p. 215.

[8] The name is written without the diacritical points.

[9] For Hûnaîn (Chateau-Neuf), Aš-Šaḳîf Arnûn (Beaufort) and Paneas, cf. R. Grousset, *op. cit.,* map facing p. 231.

[10] Cf. page 31, note 4.

[11] = 1218-1219 A.D.

John (Ḥinnis) at Šubrâ'l-Khîmah [1], and the Muslim (al-Muslimûn) inhabitants of the town testified to all this. And this priest informed me also, that he had seen in his sleep, as if he were standing in a church praying, and (it were) as if a Cross appeared in the east, a cubit in size in its appearance, and as if (it were) all burning fire, and in the middle of it a picture of the Master, and (it were) as if he were prostrating himself before Him, and trembling and exclaiming «Kyrie eleison» (Kîrîâlîṣûn); and he raised his head and he saw (that) the Cross had spread in four directions until it filled the horizon and covered entirely the earth, and on that he woke up. And he related to us also, that he saw on another night, as it were, (that) an insurrection had broken out, and (that) the people were afraid; and it was as if he were in a church, and as if a man came to him and said to him: «Speak with the ‘Ḥankar’» [2]. And he came before him [3], and he (the Ḥankar) said to him: «Go to our brethren, the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), appease their hearts and quieten them, and inform them that we have not come, except to avenge (them) of their enemies. We have not come to harm them and that they shall remain in their churches and according to their religious law (Sunnat)», and on that he awoke from his sleep. And the rise of the Nile (an-Nîl) was delayed in this year up to the sixth of (the month of) Tût [4], and the Nilometer (al-Miḳyâs) [5] rose spontaneously, and the Canal [6] was cut on it [7], and it was announced concerning the water (that it had reached) in a second four fingers above seventeen cubits. And the year nine hundred and thirty-five of the Pure Martyrs [8] entered, and, after this, the news of the death of Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil Abû Bakr

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[1] Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 155.

[2] Cf. page 39. This name, it seems, was later applied to any leader of the Crusaders.

[3] *Lit.* ‘between his hands’.

[4] = the 3rd September, Julian Style.

[5] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[6] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[7] *I.e.* the 6th Tût.

[8] = 1218 A.D.

priest Panub (Bânûb) — and he was a virtuous, true christian (Masîḥî) man — related to me, he said : «I celebrated the Divine Liturgy in this year at the Church of Smr. . h [1] of the Province of Al-Gharbîah [2], on the day of the Feast of the Three Youths [3], and it is the tenth of the days of (the month of) Bašuns [4]. And when, it was the time of the Aspasmos (ἀσπασμός) [5], which is the (Prayer) of Consolation, there appeared above on the dome of the altar [6] a person seated on a throne, and in front of him a person standing before him [7], and in his hand a censer, and he was incensing him, and a flame of fire arose from the censer. Then there appeared at the back of all the dome riders on horses like the pictures of the Saints which are in the churches, and they were turning about the dome, and the tails of their horses were swishing, and all of them, namely the people, witnessed them. And when they reached the throne, they bowed in greeting [8], and they passed by, and they continued thus up to * the time of the Communion (al-Ḳurbân), (and) they departed. And the like of this had appeared in the Church of Ḥânût [9], a long time ago, and it was noised abroad, and also in the Church of Sabâs (Šabâs) [10], and in the Church of the Mistress [11] on the outskirts of Minîat Amrû [12], and in the Church of the Martyr Abba (Bû)

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(1) The diacritical points on the two letters preceding the «h» are missing.

(2) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

(3) Cf. *Daniel* iii.

(4) Cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern*, p. 66.

(5) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 63.

(6) The word هيكل is normally used for the sanctuary, but sometimes for the altar.

(7) *Lit.* ‘ between his hands ’.

(8) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 839.

(9) There is a حانوت in the Province of Aš-Šarḳîah and another in the Province of Al-Gharbîah, cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 235, and Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 and 411.

(10) In the district of Dissûḳ of the Province Al-Gharbîah there are شباس الشهدا, and شباس الملح and شباس عمير, cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, p. 129 and Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

(11) *I.e.* the All-Holy Virgin Mary.

(12) Unidentified.

Franks) continued this state of affairs with marchings every two or three days, and the shooting with great, gigantic mangonels, one stone of which was weighed and it was three hundred and fifty Cairene (al-Miṣrî) raṭls, and huge arrows which were of (different) sorts and kinds. And they prepared boats which they called «The raft», and they were two boats, and they brought the two of them together, and they fastened the two of them with timber and nails until the two remained as one. And they made on it four masts, and they constructed on the masts a tower of wood, and they made round it a wall like the wall of cities with battlements, and they made a great covered staircase [1] with ropes and pulleys (which) lowered and raised (it). And they advanced to the Tower [2] in the daytime of Friday, the first of (the month of) an-Nasî of the year nine hundred and thirty-four [3]. And there were three hundred warriors of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) on it. And they (the Franks) lowered the covered staircase [1] onto the Tower [2], and they descended to it, and they gained possession of the upper storey, and they slew those who were on it. And as for those who (were) on the middle storey they cried for mercy [4], and they took them captives, and the bridge [5] was cut, and no one of them escaped except he who threw himself into the river [6], and it was a great day. And they set up on the Tower [2] the standard and crosses, and they blocked up its door which (was) on the side of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [7], and they opened the door which (was) towards their land, and they set up their bridge from them towards it (the land). And they took from it in the way of arms and naphtha (*νάφθα*) and provisions what could not be counted, and they rejoiced greatly [8]; and indications multiplied of the kindness of our Master for this religion and His good-pleasure in its people. And with regard to what the

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[1] *I.e.* a scala ambulatoria, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 23.

[2] *I.e.* the Tower of the Chain.

[3] = 1218 A.D.

[4] *Lit.* ' safety '.

[5] Probably, a drawbridge.

[6] *Lit.* ' sea '.

[7] Cf. page 43, note 6.

[8] *Lit.* ' a great rejoicing '.

And the state of shooting with arrows and striking with mangonels continued. And (some) of the Franks (al-Faranğ) rode horses and made a raid into parts [1] of Al-Danğâwîah [2], and they took from it corn and chopped-straw, and they returned back, and they slew whomsoever they met on the way. And the Sultan sent to burn the towns neighbouring to the place to which they (the Franks) had reached; and the raids continued on land and by sea, and the fighting did not abate. And there was opposite to them in the Bar al-ʿArab a large body of Bedouins (al-ʿUrbân) close upon three thousand horseman and with them two amîrs * from the notables of the Arabs (al-ʿArab). And there rode from the Franks (al-Faranğ) two thousand knights (horsemen), and there was between them [3] a distance of one day. And they rode forward swiftly until they reached them (the Bedouins), and when they attacked them, they (the Bedouins) were overthrown before them, and there were slain of them many people [4]; and there were captured and taken by the hands of the Franks (al-Faranğ) horses, (the number of which) was not known. And they overcame them to the extent that they passed (beyond) their tents, and they took them, and they took all what was in them, and they took the provisions which were with them and the camels, and they returned to their camp [5]. And as for the Arabs (al-ʿArab) who were overthrown, some of them were from the Fayûm (al-Fayûm) [6], and some of them were from Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣaʿîd), they continued on their course, (and) they pillaged what remained in the Arab (al-ʿArabîah) (lands), and they dispersed to their lands. And during this, the exalted king, Sultan of Syria (aš-Šâm), destroyed the fortress of Thabor (aṭ-Ṭûr) which the Franks (al-Afranğ) had assailed [7], and he transferred all that was in it to Jerusalem [8]. And they (the

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(1) *Lit.* 'some'.

(2) Cf. Omar Toussoun, *op. cit.*, Plate VI.

(3) *Lit.* 'and between them and between them'.

(4) *Lit.* 'creatures'.

(5) *Lit.* 'dwelling'.

(6) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-340.

(7) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

(8) *Lit.* 'the noble Holy (House)'.

twenty eighth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [1], they (the Franks) sailed in about seventy or eighty ships, after they had plated [2] them and covered them, and they proceeded with them against the city, and they fought a great battle [3], and it was a hard day. Then they returned to their camp [4], and the condition was as before, as regards striking with the mangonels and shooting with the arrows up to Sunday, the seventh of (the month of) Abîb [5]. And they made on four ships four towers, and they proceeded with three of them to the Tower, and one to the harbour. And they fought and they strove in the fight, and they dominated the Tower, and they set up ladders to ascend to it. And they were on the point of taking it [6]; and they were all leaning in the direction of the Tower, and they were heavy with armour, and the mast broke into two, and all of those who were on the ladders fell into the river [7] with their chain-mail and their weapons, and all of them were drowned; and the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) rejoiced at this greatly [8], and the two cities [9] were decorated. And those of them (the Franks) who were safe, returned to their camp [4], and the condition was as before, as regards striking with the mangonels and shooting with the arrows. And after some days news arrived that one of the sons of the Sultan had entered into the city of Acre ('Akkâ) [10], and (that) he had taken from it a tower named «Dahûḳ» in which there were thirty souls. And also outworks were thrown up at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and there was made at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) a great chain [11], in order to strengthen (them) by it. The weight of that chain (was) one hundred and thirty Cairene (al-Miṣrî) ḳanṭârs.

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(1) = June 22nd, Julian Style.
(2) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 510.
(3) *Lit.* 'fighting'.
(4) *Lit.* 'their dwelling'.
(5) = July 1st, Julian Style.
(6) *Lit.* 'And nothing remained with regard to taking it'.
(7) *Lit.* 'sea'.
(8) *Lit.* 'a great rejoicing'.
(9) *I.e.* Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr).
(10) Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-635.
(11) *I.e.* across the River Nile.

and they were south of the Chain, and provisions were cut off from Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1] with regard to the sea, and nothing was transported to it except by land on camels. And the situation became serious for the people, and there were evacuated the two Damirahs (ad-Damîratân)[2] and Al-Maḥallah[3] and Šanhûr[4] and Sakhâ[5] and the majority of the northern towns, and the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr) transferred to Cairo (Al-Ḳâhirah). And troops arrived from Syria (aš-Šâm) to Damietta (Dumyâṭ)[1], and there went out from Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) a great (number of) people[6] for the holy war[7]. And some of them (were) those for whom the Sultan paid, and some of them (were) those for whom the notables of the two cities[8] paid, and some of them (were) those who went out of themselves for the sake of religion. And news began to increase and to decrease, and people took into their houses grinding-stones, and they stored up wheat and flour and cakes (al-Ka'k) and rice and other things than these in the way of instruments of siege. And Al-Malik al-Kâmil himself went out to the borders[9], and he stayed at Šârimsâḥ[10]. And the Franks (al-Afranǧ) set up at Damiette (Dumyâṭ)[1], at the Tower of the Chain which was opposite to them, eight mangonels, and their stones used to reach up to middle of the city, and their arrows did not abate night and day, together with the mangonels continually, and the slain and the wounded were very numerous. And when it was in the daytime of Friday, the

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[1] See p. 43 n. 6.
[2] Cf. E. Améliineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.
[3] Cf. E. Améliineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-264.
[4] Cf. E. Améliineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-416.
[5] Cf. E. Améliineau, *op. cit.*, p. 410.
[6] *Lit.* ' creatures '.
[7] *I.e.* the Ǧihâd, a war in defence of Al-Islâm.
[8] *I.e.* Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah).
[9] The word ثغر can also mean ' harbour ', and in this case, it would be the harbour of Damietta.
[10] Cf. Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe,* t. I, p. 249 and Plate II *b,* and *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* p. 579.

he was at the altar [1]; and he completed the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs) of Cyril (Kîrullus) [2], according to what was his custom, and nothing was changed in the way of his acknowledged priesthood. Then he departed, and there rode with him the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), mounted with him in his attendance, until he brought him to the neighbourhood of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he went to his house in safety. And there assembled the Ṣa'îdian (aṣ-Ṣa'îdûn) sellers of linseed oil and fuller's earth [3], who believed that that which they were doing (was) religion, by reason of their being incited and their being dupes and their ignorance; and they went up under the Citadel [4] on the second day, and they purposed to stand before the Sultan. And they wrote pieces of paper, and no answer came out to them; but they returned disappointed, and these are matters belonging to God in which there is mystery and design, and He is aware of what is good in everything; and the people remained as they were before. And when it was Tuesday, the fourth of (the month of) Baû'ûnah [5] of the mentioned year, the Franks (al-Farang̃) arrived at the harbour of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [6] with great equipment, and they descended on the land of Al-Ḥaîrah. And they pitched their tents, and they advanced to the Tower of the Chain, and they shot at it with mangonels, * and they fought against it, and they crossed over with boats [7] and war fire-ships to the fresh [8] water,

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[1] The word هيكل though strictly speaking means ' sanctuary ', is often applied to the altar.

[2] Cf. E.F. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western,* Oxford, 1896, pp. 144-188 and O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.,* pp. 46-48. According to tradition the Divine Liturgy of Saint Cyril is reserved for the seasons of Fast.

[3] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 789.

[4] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.,* pp. 195-210.

[5] = May 29th, Julian Style.

[6] Cf. E. Améliineau, *op. cit.,* pp. 116-117. This is the expedition of Jean de Brienne, cf. R. Grousset, *L'Épopée des Croisades,* p. 296 sqq. An account of this expedition is also given in *H.P.E.C.,* vol. III, Part II, p. 216 sqq. In the margin of Fol. 296v° there is the following remark. «Note. He who sware on his behalf was the elder (aš-Šaîkh) 'Alam al-Mulk ibn al-Ḥag̃ Šams ar-Ri'âsat, the compiler of this biography».

[7] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 733.

[8] *Lit.* ' sweet '.

and he celebrated the Divine Liturgy in it, and they (the people) were delighted with him, because he was a good priest, learned instructed (and) beloved of those who feared God. And as for those who were opposed to him, they were not opposed to him, except for various, partial reasons. Some of them (his opponents) envied him, and some of them were afraid of his consecration [1] on account of things which they had committed, or (because) they had done something detestable to him, and they feared to be punished for it. And some of them were not acquainted (with the matter), and they thought by reason of the abundance of slander that the matter was right, and that he (David) was unworthy, and they opposed him on religious grounds. And when it was the third Sunday [2], some of the group preceded him to the Church of Abba (Bû) Sergius (Sarǵah) [3] in Cairo (Miṣr) with the agreement of the priest of the mentioned church. And he (David) came, and there came with him a company of the archons (ἄρχων) and many people. And the priest of the church made an obeisance (μετάνοια), and he (David) celebrated the Divine Liturgy. And when they had reached the Pauline Epistle (ἀπόστολος) [4], lo, a man known as Ibn Sadaḳah, the aforementioned, entered and with him young male slaves of the governor (al-Wâlî), and he caused a tumult and he vociferated and he calumniated the priest of the church, and he wished to stop the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs), after the Offering (al-Ḳurbân) had been borne [5]; and a great crowd [6] of the people assembled at the door of the church to see what would happen. And much discussion took place, the end of which (was) that the priest David (Dâûd) should complete the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs); and the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) was seated on his account in the middle of the church on a bench, in order to protect the priest David (Dâûd) from those who opposed him, because Ibn Sadaḳah and his companions wished to stone him (David) while

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ advancement ’.

(2) *I.e.* of Lent.

(3) Cf. page 8, note 10.

(4) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, pp. 56-57.

(5) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

(6) *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

And the slave (al-Mamlûk) said to him : «Stretch out thy neck!» and he stretched it out, and he struck him with a blow by which his head flew from his body; and his trunk was hanged on the Gate Zuwaîlah [1], and the people glorified God for the endurance of this man and the beauty of his faith. And he remained hanging for three days, and after this, they took him down, and they went out with him outside the city, and they began to burn him, but they did not cast what was sufficient of fuel upon him to burn him, and his body remained intact. And there assembled a body of the blessed Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and they besought the governor (al-Wâlî) for it (the body), and he gave it to them, and they took it and they buried it in the Church of the Melchites (al-Malakîah) [2] which (is) in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm al-Ḥamrâ [3], and they gave thanks to God Who confirms His Saints in faith in His Name to the last breath. And at this time, * the Sultan — may God preserve him! — commanded that a wall should be made at Cairo (Miṣr) on the side of the river, and that it should be extended along the length of the Canal [4] up to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And they began this, and they started it from the House of the King, and they dug the foundations, and they started on the building. And in those days a command of Al-Malik al-Kâmil went out to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr), that they (the inhabitants) should go out every night and that they should split (stones), and they did this, and it happened (that) there fell of them those who were killed and those who were wounded and those who were injured by the stones. And all of the inhabitants of the two cities had in their hands tools. And the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr) stopped, but the inhabitants of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) continued on this wise, and at every time they were increasing. And after that, Lent [5] began [6], and the archons (ἄρχων), the friends of the priest David (Dâûd), began to take him every Sunday to a church,

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[1] Cf. page 40, note 6.
[2] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.
[3] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[4] Cf. the map facing page 164, S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo.*
[5] *Lit.* ' the Holy Fast '.
[6] *Lit.* ' entered '.

for a siege. Then they went out to attack Thabor (aṭ-Ṭûr)[1], and it is a great fortress, and Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil had renewed it, (as) being near to Acre (ʿAkkâ)[2]; and they attacked it for ten days and they killed its commander. Then they departed from it without a known cause, and they returned to Acre (ʿAkkâ)[2], and it was before the Feast of the Holy Nativity. And in these days the Sultan — may God empower his victory! — commanded a display of the prisoners, and they were displayed before him. And there was among them a man named Asad, and he was a tailor[3], and he had quarrelled with his wife, and she had brought him before the law, and a chance utterance dropped by him bore witness against him that he had adopted Al-Islâm and had denied it, and he was put under arrest, and he remained under arrest for the space of a year up to this time. And the Sultan caused him to be brought, and he enticed him and he promised to him money and raiment, if he remained in Al-Islâm, but he refused. And he said : «I am nothing else save a Christian (Naṣrânî), and in my Christianity (Naṣrânîah) shall I die». And he (the Sultan) said to him : «Woe to thee, thou didst utter the profession of Al-Islâm before me, and wherever thou desirest, go. Dost thou, then, deceive thyself?» He (Asad) said : «This was never so». And the state of revendication did not cease between them[4] until the day of the Glorious Epiphany (al-Ghiṭâs), and he commanded him to be beheaded[5]. And the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) caused him to be brought to the Gate Zuwaîlah[6], and he caused the witnesses to come, and he offered to him Al-Islâm before them, but he refused. And he (Asad) said : «Finish me, I conjure you by God, but do not take me back to the prison». And one of his (the governor's) slaves (Mamâlûk) advanced towards him and prodded him with the sword until four fingers of it penetrated into him. And he (Asad) said to him : «Finish!»

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[1] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 510-519.

[2] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.,* pp. 631-635.

[3] This word is not very clear in the *MS*. It may be read as خايطا , ' tailor ', or as حايكا ' weaver '.

[4] *Lit.* ' between them and between him '.

[5] *Lit.* ' to strike his neck '.

[6] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.,* p. 150.

twenty-five dînârs. And they (the officials) returned to repeat the demand on the priests, regarding the demand of the amount which they deducted from the inalienable endowments, and they (the priests) did not cease exerting themselves, * until they had paid it off, after exertion and hardship, and the monks were constrained by the Church. And in this year, the Sultan Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil went out from Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to the Lake known as the Lake of the Ethiopians (al-Ḥabaš)[1], going in the direction of the Syrian Land (ad-Dâr aš-Šamîah), when there reached him news of the Franks (al-Faranğ) and their multitude; and he stayed at it[2] for a period. Then he betook himself to Bilbaîs[3], (when) the year nine hundred and thirty-four[4] opened. Then he turned towards Syria (aš-Šam), and he descended at Baîsân[5] for assembling his troops and his soldiers, and he stayed at it for a long time. And there reached the Franks (al-Afranğ) a king from beyond[6] the sea, known as the King Ḥankar[7]. And it was said that they had assembled four thousand knights (horsemen) and a hundred thousand foot-men, and they came upon the troops of Al-Islâm at Baîsân[5]. And they (the troops) did not stand against them, but they were routed, and the Franks (al-Afranğ) pursued them for four or five days until they drove them away from the Littoral[8]; and they pillaged the corn and arms, and they killed and they took captive a great many people[9]. Then they returned and they descended at Tiberias (Ṭabariyah)[10] for some days; then they returned to Acre (ʿAkkâ)[11], and they remained at it making instruments

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[1] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 140.

[2] *I.e.* the Lake of the Ethiopians.

[3] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-335.

[4] = 1217 A.D.

[5] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 620-624.

[6] *Lit.* ‘ behind ’.

[7] Probably, Andrew II, King of Hungary. Cf. *H.P.E.C.*, vol. III, Part II, pp. 210-212, 215.

[8] Cf. page 38, note 1.

[9] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[10] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 535-540.

[11] Cf. B. Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-635.

rise (of the price) of corn in Syria (aš-Šâm) and especially in the Land of Jerusalem (al-Ḳuds) and the Littoral [1]; it was even mentioned that water was lacking in them, and that the Pool of Siloam (Silwân) [2] was exhausted, so that it became a way, and nothing had been heard like this. And the prices in Cairo (Miṣr) went up to thirty-five dînârs for a hundred ardab of wheat; then they went down to twenty-seven dînârs. And a bridge of boats was made from Al-Ǧazîrah (Roḍah) [3] to Al-Ǧîzah [4], and the beginning of it was from before the new workshop, and the number of the boats of which it was composed [5] (was) fifty-three boats; and it was finished on the day of Thursday, the ninth of (the month of) Abîb (in the) year nine hundred and thirty-three [6]. And it was open to the people without payment being demanded for it. And the Sultan employed under his seal men to repair what might be spoilt of it, and to open passages [7] for the ships which ascended and which descended, because they had made in it places for this purpose by opening the boats, and (then) they returned (them) to their position. And the people began to go to Al-Ǧîzah [4] and to come (from it) mounted and on foot, and they rejoiced greatly [8] at this, and they made supplications for the Sultan for this reason. And there was made on it (the bridge) a handrail of wood on either side to prevent that anyone should fall into the river at some time, and the people found by it great convenience [9]. And the water (of the Nile) in this year reached to twenty-two fingers above seventeen cubits, then it decreased. And the price of corn went up until wheat reached fifty dînârs the hundred ardabs, then it went down to

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[1] *I.e.* the stretch of coast along Palestine and Syria.
[2] Cf. B. Meistermann, *Guide de Terre Sainte,* Paris, 1923, pp. 256-258.
[3] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.,* pp. 107-109.
[4] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* pp. 190-191.
[5] *Lit.* 'in it'.
[6] = 1217 A.D.
[7] *Lit.* 'gates',
[8] *Lit.* 'a great rejoicing'.
[9] *Lit.* 'rest'.

of our companions remained in expectancy, (where) they were. And as for those Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), they remained at the Gate of the House of the Sultan until the evening, until the bishops departed, and the majority of them passed the night in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And as for the priest David (Dâûd), he stayed at the Church of the Ḥârat ar-Rûm al-Ḥamrâ [1] until the evening of the day; then he returned to his house. And the churches of Cairo (Miṣr) annulled on the day the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳuddâs), and it was Palm Sunday. And when it was morning on the day of Monday which was the first day of Holy Week, and it was the Feast of Al-Aḍḥâ (Ḳurbân Baîram), the people assembled, and they were awaiting the Sultan with gospels and censers and crosses, supplicating for him. And the bishops departed on that day, each of them to his See, and the people returned to their churches, and they remained in them, and they celebrated the Feast [2]. And idle talk among them was fabricated. And as for what happened to the Church, in these days, the deputy of the Sultan came to the Castle of Babylon (Ḳaṣr aš-Šamaʿ) [3] and he evaluated all of it. And the people began to pay for every dwelling something as rent of the ground, and he (the deputy) obtained (it) from many of them, and he fixed for them the ground-rent at double. And he deducted from the inalienable endowments of the churches which belonged to the Dhimah [4] five dînârs for every dwelling. And there befell the people from this great hardship, and procuration (was given) to the priests at all times for this reason, and they discharged part of the amount, and the two churches Al-Muʿallaḳah [5], and Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarǵah) [6] were mulcted of about fifty dînârs; and when the Sultan arrived, they ceased demanding (the money). And after that, the news arrived of the

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[1] Cf. page 35, note 7.

[2] *I.e.* Easter.

[3] Cf. A.J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt,* Oxford, 1884, vol. I, pp. 206-235, and O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 23-31.

[4] A term used for Christians or Jews enjoying protective rights in a Muslim State.

[5] Cf. page 1, note 6.

[6] Cf. page 8, note 10.

and some of them remained outside in the street, and some of them, or rather the majority of them dispersed, and there remained those who remained in expectancy, their hope not being cut off. And as for those who were standing at the Gate of the House of the Sultan, when Al-Malik al-Kâmil went in, on the service of his father, they stood up, and he observed them, and when he went out, they stood up, and they made supplications for him. And the state was protracted, and the ninth hour [1] arrived. And I was (present) at all what happened on this day, staying at the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarġah) [2]. And when it was said to me that he (David) had arrived at Al-Maîmûnah [3], I said (that) I would arise to meet him at the head of the lane; and I arose and I rode, and I said (that) here I may meet him (or) there I may meet him, until it was said to me that the company had descended at Al-Ḥamrâ [4]. And I was amazed, and I hastened to learn the news, and I came and I found our companions sitting, and they informed me of the situation, and I sat with them. And when the ninth hour [1] was passed, I said : « To-day is a great (feast) [5], and it is not requisite that we should miss on it the Divine Liturgy (al-Ḳurbân). And there was there a priest of the inhabitants of Damîrah [6], named Apa Noub (Bânûb), and I took him with me and a group of our companions who were in agreement with me, and we came to the Church of Gabriel (Ghabryâl) [7], and they had celebrated the Divine Liturgy in it before that. And we asked for a Eucharistic Loaf (Ḳurbânah), and it was brought, and there was brought a vestment and vessels, and we celebrated the Divine Liturgy and we communicated. And I returned to the Church of Abba (Bû) Sergius (Sarġah) [2] at which I was staying * during Lent. And some

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(1) *I.e.* 3 p.m.
(2) Cf. page 8, note 10.
(3) Cf. page 35, note 6.
(4) Cf. page 35, note 7.
(5) *I.e.* Palm Sunday.
(6) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.
(7) Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

there was not a foot-span in it for anyone on account of the multitude of the people [1]. And they went up with a bundle in which (were) his (David's) robes and with them his staff [2] to the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah [3]. And the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) had already gone to Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and he had made known to him what had happened. And he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) said : «Whatsoever the Sultan (Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil) has commanded, thou (must) obey». And when the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) clamoured that night, he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) sent to summon him (the governor), and he charged him with a letter to his father [4]. And the priest (David) and the company had gone out by the Wicket Gate [5], purposing (to go) to Cairo (Miṣr) ; and they reached al-Maîmûnah [6], and with them (was) the deputy of the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And the son of the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) met them there. And lo, messengers had come running to take back the bishops. And they said : «The Sultan requires them»; and thereupon Sahim ad-Dîn, governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) came running, and he took back the writing on which was the sign of the Sultan, and he took the bishops with him, and he returned. And when he arrived at the Gate of the House of the Sultan, the people were about to stone the bishops, but Sahim ad-Dîn protected them, and he said : «By God, if anyone interfers with them, his hand shall be cut off». And hands were kept off them, but they (the people) slandered them with (their) tongues ; and they insulted them, and they reviled them and they taunted them ; and they (the bishops) crossed over to the House of the Sultan, and they were retained at it. And as for the priest (David) and some of the company, they entered into the Church of Ḥârat ar-Rûm al-Ḥamrâ [7],

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[2] *I.e.* the episcopal staff.

[3] Cf. page 1, note 6.

[4] *I.e.* Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil.

[5] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* p. 129 and P. Casanova, ‘ Maḳrîzî : Description Historique et Topographique de l'Égypte ’, in *Mem. Inst. Franç. Arch. Orient.,* t. III, part III, Le Caire, 1906, p. 43.

[6] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,* p. 87, note 3.

[7] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *op. cit.,* p. 87.

Then they returned to enter Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and they found the Gate Zûwaîlah [1] had already been shut, and they laid down at the Gate. And on that night, all the churches of Cairo (Miṣr) annulled the psalmody (ψαλμῳδία) and the procession of Olives [2]. And when it was morning, they betook themselves to the house of the judge (al-Ḳâḍî) Al-Ašraf Ibn al-Fâḍil, before he rode out. Then they went to the House of the Sultan, and some of them crossed over (to it), and some of them remained outside, crying and shouting, and some of this company went in to the judge (al-Ḳâḍî) ʿImâd ad-Dîn, son of the brother of Al-ʿAlam, the possessor of the Dîwân : and they mentioned to him that the patriarch [3] had died, and that there (is owing) to him on the part of the bishops the yearly contribution [4], and that this is a year after his death, and (that) the Sultan was his heir; and he (the judge) sought it from them, and it was two thousand, two hundred dînârs, and he sent to them, and he set guards over them. And they (the bishops) were determined on * going down to Cairo (Miṣr) to consecrate [5] the patriarch. And he (the judge) wrote a paper to the Sultan that such and such had happened. And the Sultan said : « If any resist them (the bishops), he shall be beheaded [6]. This is nonsense! What thing made them silent all this time? They are not to be depended upon! » And they (the bishops) rode in security, and there rode with them the priest (David), and there assembled with them people [7], the number of whom was countless, and it was a remarkable day. And a crowd came, and they gave to them something and they sent them away. And news spread quickly to Cairo (Miṣr), that the affair was settled, and the markets became (so crowded) that one (could) not make way (through them). And as for the (church) Al-Muʿallaḳah [8],

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[1] Cf. D. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

[2] *I.e.* the procession on Palm Sunday.

[3] *I.e.* the patriarch John VI, 1189-1216 A.D.

[4] The ديارية is the yearly contribution made to the patriarch by the bishops and the monasteries.

[5] *Lit.* ‘ to advance ’.

[6] *Lit.* ‘ his neck shall be struck ’.

[7] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[8] Cf. page 1, note 6.

the Sultan, and they were seven, the four who were residing in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) in the house of the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah with the priest David (Dâûd), and the three who had journeyed behind the Sultan from place to place. And he (the Sultan) enquired of them concerning the priest David (Dâûd). And they said : « We are agreed to him, and we shall not depart from what we have written for him (with) our signatures». And he said to them : « Go forth and seek testimony to yourselves concerning this». And they went forth to the Dîwân, and they wrote for them a testimony to their agreement concerning the priest David (Dâûd), and their approval of him as being fit to be a patriarch. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah went with it to the Sultan, and his mark was affixed on it immediately. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah took the writing, and he went with it to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) in the evening, so that he might notify the people, that they should go in the morning to meet their patriarch, and to illuminate the church al-Muʿallaḳah [1] and to adorn it. And he sent it (the writing) to the priests of (the Church) Al-Muʿallaḳah [1], and he laid this before them. And the affair was noised abroad, and Aṣ-Ṣaʿd Hibat Allah Ibn Ṣadaḳah, mentioned formerly, went out, and it was he who roused the people to stand before the Sultan at that time, and assembled them ; and he began to go [2] from church to church until there assembled with him people [3]. And they went up to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) thereupon, and with them all the priests of the churches, with the exception of the priests of the church of Abba (Bû) Mercurius (Marḳûrah) [4], and they lighted candles, and they betook themselves to the Citadel [5] at night. And they jabbered and they shouted and they cried out and they appealed for help until Al-Malik al-Kâmil heard them.

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[1] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 23-31.

[2] *Lit.* ‘ to enter ’.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ creatures ’.

[4] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 40-49.

[5] Cf. page 17, note 4.

Ar-Raḍî Abû'r-Riḍâ Ibn Dûrâḳ heard (of this), and he wrote a paper to the Sultan that this man (David) was not fit, and that all who wrote for him, wrote, indeed, out of fear; and (as regards) the bishops, it was he (David) who had charged them (to do) what had happened without paying heed to them. And he entered with it (the paper) intending (to find) him who would submit it * to the Sultan. And lo, the Sultan (was) at the door of the Hall alone, and he (the Sultan) said : « What dost thou desire [1], O Abû'r-Raḍî?» And he delivered to him (the Sultan) the paper, and he perused it. Then he commanded the letter to be cancelled, and he said : « We are going to Cairo (Miṣr), and we shall examine his (David's) condition». And as for what was in the way of the discussion of the two sons of the sister of the patriarch [2], the Sultan had, before his setting out, handed both of them over to Aṣ-Ṣamsâm, superintendent of the Diwans (ad-Dawâwîn), and he tortured [3] both of them, and he menaced them, and he punished them, and he continued (this) with both of them, until they made themselves responsible for three thousand dînars; and he required a surety for both of them, and he set them free, and they carried it out [4]. Then the Sultan departed from Alexandria, and he went back on his opinion about going to Damietta (Dumyâṭ) [5], and he came to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he entered it in the daytime of the Friday of the seventh week of the Holy Lent [6]. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah entered with him and the company, and in the daytime of Saturday which is the Saturday of Lazarus (al-ʿÂzar) [7], the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah caused the bishops to come before [8]

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[1] *Lit.* ' What (is) with thee? '.

[2] *I.e.* the patriarch John VI, 1189-1216 A.D.

[3] *Lit.* ' compressed '. For this form of torture, cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 134.

[4] *I.e.* they paid the sum of money.

[5] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

[6] *I.e.* the Friday before Palm Sunday. The fasts of Jonah and Heraclius have been added to Lent thus making the seventh week, cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, p. 13.

[7] In both the Greek and the Coptic Church the Saturday before Palm Sunday is known as the Saturday of Lazarus, since at the Divine Liturgy the Gospel which is read gives the account of the raising of Lazarus.

[8] *Lit.* ' between the hands of '.

Sultan, looking unto him for what he had promised to them. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah was still at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he did not go out from it. And when it was the Sunday of the Carnival (1), he and the bishops communicated at the Church of the Potters (al-Fakhkhârîn) (2) at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and after the Communion he (Niš al-Khilâfah) took the bishops with him, and they went to the house of Al-Ḳâḍî al-Ašraf Ibn al-Ḳâḍî al-Fâḍil, and he caused them to enter to him. And he (Al-Ḳâḍî) said to them : « What is the matter with you? » They said : « O our Sire, our conditions have deteriorated without a patriarch, and we were satisfied with this man (David) ». And he said : « Be assured (3). I shall go out to the Sultan, and I shall inform him of what I have heard from you, and I shall settle for you the affair », and they called down blessings upon him, and they went out from his presence, and he (Al-Ḳâḍî) and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah departed during the remainder of the day. And the Sultan journeyed (on), and the company with him, and other bishops joined them (and) they were standing before him time after time, and he did not dismiss them without promises, until they reached the port of Alexandria. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah arrived, and they assembled there, and they continued thus, until the Sultan was about to depart from the port at the end of the sixth week of Lent, and had resolved upon going to the port of Damietta (Dumyâṭ) (4). And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah presented himself to him (the Sultan) and he said : « O our Sire, (for) these Christians (an-Naṣârâ) the (5) time has been prolonged, and our Sire is the proper (person) to fulfil their need ». And the Sultan commanded that a letter should be written for them for his (David's) consecration for them (6), and it was written, and there did not remain except the signature (7). And a man of the scribes of the Sultan, known as

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(1) *I.e.* the Sunday preceding the Fast of Nineveh (Jonah).

(2) Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 340.

(3) *Lit.* ' Let your hearts be good '.

(4) Cf. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

(5) *Lit.* ' their '.

(6) *Lit.* ' advancement over them '.

(7) *Lit.* ' mark '.

the Carnival (ar-Rifâʿ)[1], there assembled a company of the priests of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) and select people and people who did not wish for the priest David (Dâûd), and they went out wishing (to meet) the Sultan to inform him that they did not wish for * David (Dâûd). And on Wednesday, the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah sent after them a company of those who were with him (David) to stand before him (the Sultan), and to say that they wished for him (David). And these and those went out, and the Sultan had departed. And as for the company of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), they persisted in seeking the Sultan, and as for the companions of the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Fatûḥ, they met on their way the bishop known as Hadîah at Ḳalyûb[2] coming for the consecration of the patriarch. And they made known to him the affair, and he (the bishop) returned with them, and there was with him a company, and they became numerous, and they journeyed, and they overtook the Sultan at the ferry of Dağwah in the daytime of Thursday, and there was rain. And they stood before him (the Sultan), and he said : « What do ye wish? », and he caused the bishop to be brought. And he (the bishop) said : « O our Sire, thou hast vouchsafed to us the appointment[3] of a patriarch, and when I arrived, I did not find with them the signature of our Sire, and nothing is done for us without a signature, and I entreat the favour of our Sire that he may write for us his signature ». He said : « Yea, come to the halting-place, and we shall satisfy your need », and he journeyed (on) ; and the other[4] company met him, and he said : « What about these? ». And they said : « O our Sire, thou hast commanded that we should come to an agreement, and (as for) us, we are not satisfied with this man (David) ». And he (the Sultan) said : « He who brings ten thousand dînârs, we shall make him patriarch ». And they stood before him another time (and) another (time), and he did not send them away on account of this, and they returned. And the other[5] (company) continued journeying with the

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(1) *I.e.* the week before the Fast of Nineveh (Jonah).

(2) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

(3) *Lit.* ‘ advancement ’.

(4) *Lit.* ‘ that ’.

(5) *Lit.* ‘ those ’.

and a throne was brought (which) from former times had been assigned to the patriarchs, and it was polished. And I caused to be brought the pastoral staffs, and I caused to be purchased beasts of burden, and the priest (David) and his companions made ready to go to the port of Alexandria, after the hegoumenate (ἡγουμενεία) [1]. And in the meanwhile, the Sultan went out to (his) private property at 'Aîn Šams [2], going towards the port of Alexandria, and the people thought that the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Fatûḥ had obtained his (the Sultan's) order for the consecration [3] of the priest David (Dâûd). And there arrived the bishop of Laḳânah [4] who came after the archbishop (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος), and he announced that his senior brother was sick. And there arrived with him, after him, three other bishops, and they were the bishop of Ašmûm [5] and the bishop of Malîğ [6] and the bishop of Šaṭanûf [7]; and the people were certain that his (David's) affair had been settled. And those who were in opposition to him (David) continued to say : « We shall do and make things», which they would not have been able (to do), if the order had gone forth. And when it was the evening of Saturday, the eve of the Sunday mentioned before, there assembled the bishops and the congregation, and they began conversations, and they said : « We (shall be) to-morrow in Cairo (Miṣr)», and he (Abû'l-Fatûḥ) said to them : «And what then?» They said : «How? Shall we not consecrate the patriarch?» He (Abû'l-Fatûḥ) said : «No, to-morrow there shall be no consecration for him, because we have not yet consulted the Sultan, and we have not received a letter to the governor (Wâlî) of Alexandria», and they kept silent. And the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) began to go up to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) to enquire into the truth of it; and they were informed of this, and they returned, and the bishops remained at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And when it was the daytime of Tuesday of the week of

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[1] *I.e.* after David had been made a hegoumenos.

[2] Cf. E. Améllineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-288.

[3] *Lit.* ' advancement '.

[4] Cf. E. Améllineau, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[5] Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* p. 41.

[6] Cf. E. Améllineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-246.

[7] Cf. E. Améllineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-425.

disappointed, but the majority of them returned to the agreement. And the people entered to the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah to congratulate him, and they departed from him to the house of the priest David (Dâûd), to wait upon him and to congratulate him, so that the house did not hold them. And people were going, and others coming, and no one doubted that he would be the patriarch, and that he would be consecrated on the Sunday which is between the two carnivals [1], and (it was) the twenty-seventh of (the month of) Ṭûbah [2]. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah sent to bring the bishops, and the priest (David) met me and he said : «Dost thou wish to write the Letter of Introduction (at-Taḳlîd?)» [3] And I said : «O my Sire, this (is) the function of Fakhr ad-Daûlah Abû Sa'îd, the scribe of the Cell (*κέλλιον*) [4], and he was a relative of mine and a friend and a kinsman, and he had good liking [5] for this affair. And he (David) said : «At present, (there is) no way to Fakhr ad-Daûlah, and, perhaps, he would not do (it)». And I said : «I will do this on the condition that (I am) as the representative of him, and on the condition that the father (David) does not alter any thing of it». And he (David) said : «I accept» [6]. And I drew up a copy of the Letter of Introduction (at-Taḳlîd) [3] in Arabic, and I named him Abba (Anbâ) Cyril (Kîrullus), and I made a fair copy of it, and they translated it into Coptic (al-Ḳibṭî), and I wrote the copy of the Coptic (al-Ḳibṭî) on it. And I had the robes [7] cut and the tiara (al-Faḳâfîr) [8] (made),

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[1] The First Carnival is the Sunday before the Fast of Nineveh (Jonah) and the Second Carnival is the Sunday before Lent which begins on a Monday. The period therefore, between these two Sundays is thirteen days. Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church,* p. 13.

[2] = January 22nd (23rd), Julian Style.

[3] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria,* Le Caire, 1960, pp. 67-73.

[4] *I.e.* the Patriarchate.

[5] *Lit.* ‘heart’.

[6] *Lit.* ‘hearing and obeying’.

[7] For a description of the patriarchal robes, cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria,* pp. 76-77.

[8] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *idem,* p. 77 and note 4.

besides Abû'l-Karam?» They both said : «The hermit of Abyâr»[1]. And they (the former company) said to them : «Ye both know him, that ye testify for him?» They both said : «Al-Malik al-Kâmil knows him, and it is he who chose him». And the Sultan said : «Al-Malik al-Kâmil does not enter into this matter[2] : leave him out»[3]. And vocification multiplied, and the Sultan commanded them to be silent. Then he said : «Bring the reports», and they were brought. And he said to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) : «Give them to them», and he began to give them to the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyin). And the Sultan said : «I do not give them to those who are in disagreement, that is, the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin)». And not one of those who had entered to him this time had disagreed about the priest David (Dâûd), but all of them had written for him. However, the Sultan was convinced that all the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) were in disagreement about what was taking place when the majority of them assembled and stood before Al-Malik al-Kâmil. And we took the reports. And he (the Sultan) said : «What say ye about these?» We said : «We are agreed about this man, and these are our signatures». He said : «What is your signature alone, or even the signature of the bishops and the monks?» We said : «Yea, O our Sire». And he turned to the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyin) and he said : «And ye, what do ye say?» They said : «We are agreed on this man». And he said to the two priests : «And ye, what do both of you say?» And the priest Barakât was silent and the priest Joseph (Yûsif) said : * «If these and these are agreed upon anything, we shall speak». And the Sultan said : «Go forth and come to an agreement with your companions who are outside, and propose your patriarch. And by the life of my head, and the tomb of the Sultan[4], if ye do not come to an agreement, I shall never appoint for you a patriarch». And they arose (and) they went out, and a vocification was raised by reason of the fact that the priest David (Dâûd) had achieved his purpose[5]. And those who opposed him were

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[1] Cf. page 12.
[2] *Lit.* ‘ between you ’.
[3] *Lit.* ‘ let him be away from you ’.
[4] *I.e.* the tomb of Ṣalâḥ ad-Dîn at Damascus.
[5] *Lit.* ‘ had confirmed his affair ’.

as-Sukkarî». And he (the Sultan) said : «That (is) our scribe; there is no discussion for you about him [1], and who besides him?» And they both said : «The elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Karam, a man aged (and) learned from Cairo (Miṣr)». He said : «And who (else)?» And they both said : «The hermit who (is) at Abyâr» [2]. And he said : «Write their names in your handwriting», and we wrote. And he said : «And who (is) the third?» They both said : «The person who is mentioned in [3] the reports». He said : «And now ye nominate him, and ye said he is not fitting!» They both said : «O our [4] Sire, (as regards) these pieces of paper, we believe that there will not be revealed from them except he whom God chooses, and we pay not heed to him whom we write, and we do this to avoid evil, lest there remain anything in the heart of one of the company». And he (the Sultan) turned to the two governors (al-Wâlîaîn) and he said : «Bring to me five of the notables of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) and five of the notables of the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyin)». And the two governors (al-Wâlîaîn) went out, and they chose five from each category, (and) I [5] was among the best of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), and the company passed into his (the Sultan's) presence, and they sat on both sides before him [6]. And he raised his head to them, and he said : «Are these two (groups) your leaders?» They said : «These two (groups) (are) leaders of their churches». He said : «Are ye not agreed on what they have decided?» They said : «(Not) until we know what it is». He said : «They have recorded names for whom the lot should be cast». They said : «And who are they (as regards their) names?» The Sultan said to the two priests : «Ye know them». They both said : «We have chosen the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Karam». The company said : «O our Sire, (he is) a decrepit, old man, he (can) not undertake this affair». The Sultan said : «And where is he?» They said : «In Cairo (Miṣr)». The (other) company said : «O ye two priests, who (is there)

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[1] *I.e.* there is no question about this person.

[2] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[3] *Lit.* ‘the possessor of’.

[4] The *MS.* has ‘my’ (*sic*).

[5] *I.e.* the narrator of this part of the History.

[6] *Lit.* ‘between his hands’.

in this, because they were weak in ecclesiastical lore, because the Christian (an-Naṣarânîah) religious law requires for the sister all the inheritance, if none other than she succeeds. And they both spoke [1] according to the religious law of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn). He said : «And the other half is for whom?» They both said : «For thee, O our Sire». He said : «I require of you both my share, because ye both are the leaders of the congregation». They both said : «We did not have much to do with him (the patriarch), and we do not know anything of that which concerned him». And he said : «This does not concern me» [2]; and he impressed (this) upon them both. And they both said : «O our Sire, the children of his sister (are) the first (to be questioned) about this, rather than us». And he said : «Did he have a number of children of his sister? [3] We do not know of (any) except one who is with us». They both said : «O our Sire, there remains another named Makârim, * and he is living in Cairo (Miṣr)». And he (the Sultan) turned to the governor (al-Wâlî), and he said : «Let him (Makârim) come straightway», and he was brought at once, and he was left with his brother in the place in which he was confined at the House of the Sultan. Then he (the Sultan) turned to both of them and he said : «Whom do ye wish that he should be for you a patriarch?» They [4] said : «O our Sire, we have a custom that we cast lots, and we write three names, and he who is revealed to us we make him (patriarch)». And he (the Sultan) said : «And this (is) he who is in [5] the reports». And the Sultan had sent to bring the reports. And they both said : «O our [6] Sire, it is not permitted with us to consecrate [7] him, because he was interdicted by our leader» [8]. He (the Sultan) said : «And who (are) the three whom ye designate?» And they both said : «Aṣ-Ṣani'ah, that is, Ghâlib Ibn

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[1] *Lit.* 'acted'.
[2] *Lit.* 'This is a thing which I do not know'.
[3] *I.e.* his nephews.
[4] The *MS.* has 'he', *sic.*
[5] 'He who is in', *lit.* 'the possessor of'.
[6] The *MS* has 'my', (*sic*).
[7] *Lit.* 'advance'.
[8] *I.e.* the bishop.

and none beside them spoke. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah sent to Abû'l-'Izz to bring him to the flourishing Treasury (al-Khizânah), and he humoured him, but he held fast, and Abû'r-Riḍâ remained as before. And the two governors (al-Wâlîaîn) entered to the Sultan, and they made known to him the disagreement of the congregation. And he (the Sultan) said : «Bring to me a company of these and a company of those, so that I may hear their words». And a company of those who did not wish for the priest David (Dâûd) said : «(There is) among our companions an elder (Šaîkh), and he is our senior, a priest at the Ḥârat ar-Rûm [1] (at) Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he is named Joseph (Yûsif). Order to bring him to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah)». And he was brought, and he was taken in unto the Sultan, and he was an archpriest (ἀρχιπαππᾶς) of the priests at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah); and (there was) the priest Barakât, archpriest (ἀρχιπαππᾶς) of the priests at Cairo (Miṣr), and a company of the priests and other than they. And everyone of them reflected (on the matter) before the Sultan, and (words) increased and decreased, and he (the Sultan) reproved them, and, at the end of their arguments, it was decided that the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyun) should agree to the priest Barakât, and the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyun), to Joseph (Yûsif), and they acknowledged that both of them (were) their representatives. And the Sultan retained the two priests, and he commanded the rest of the company to go out, and they went out. And he (the Sultan) turned to the two priests, and he said to both of them : «How much is collected for the patriarch each year?» And they both said : «Four hundred dînârs a year». And he said : «And what does he do with them?» And they both said : «He spends them on himself and he distributes alms with them». He said : «And what was he [2] before his patriarchate?» They both said : «A merchant». He said : «And who succeeded him in the way of inheritance?» They both said : «His sister». He said : «And how much does she receive of the inheritance?» They both said : «The half». And they both erred

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[1] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 75-80.

[2] *I.e.* the patriarch John VI, 1189-1216 A.D.

and he (the Sultan) commanded him to assemble the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) and to bring them in company with him on Monday, the twenty-first of (the month of) Ṭûbah [1], that they might come to an agreement on the patriarch whom he (the Sultan) would set up for them. And he caused to be brought the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he commanded him in the same manner. And they notified the people on the eve of Saturday * and on the eve of Sunday and on the eve of Monday [2], and they instructed the priest of every church to inform his congregation, and to take them and to be present on the morning of Monday. As for the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), he despatched his scribe and his usher to the notables of the inhabitants of Cairo (Miṣr) to inform them of this. And the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) assembled at the house of Amîn ad-Dîn, the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), and the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyin) (assembled) at the gate of the House of the Sultan. And the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) went up with the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), and they assembled with the Cairenes (al-Ḳâhiriyin), and they were about a hundred men or more, and all of them entered into the House of the Sultan, and they found the two governors (al-Wâlîaîn) on a dais in it. And they (the two governors) summoned a company of their notables and they said : « Whom do ye wish that he should be for you a patriarch? » And they said : « The priest David (Dâûd) for whom we wrote our signatures ». And they [3] delegated one of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin), called Abû'l-ʿIzz Ibn Wakîl al-Ğanâḥ, and he was one of the deacons [4] of (the Church) al-Muʿallaḳah [5]. And he said : « O our Sire, we do not agree », and another (person) known as Abû'r-Riḍâ, son of the priest of the church of Abba (Abû) Šenouti (Šanûdah) at as-Sâḥal [6], supported him, and they both caused confusion,

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[1] = January 16th (17th), Julian Style.

[2] *I.e.* Friday night, Saturday night and Sunday night.

[3] *I.e.* the opponents of the priest David.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ a deacon of the deacons ’.

[5] Cf. page 1, note 6.

[6] The reference may be to the Church of Saint Šenouti in Old Cairo, which before the Nile retreated was close to the bank of the river, cf. O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 40, 49-52.

because he (Abû Šâkir) had instructed them both, and had intended them both for this (post) before his death. Afterwards, the condition (of affairs) remained as it was before until (the month of) Ṭûbah [1]; and the elder Niš al-Khilâfah summoned me and he said : « We wish for a document for the Sultan concerning the patriarch, and we have decided (to make) a rough copy of the document which contains (a statement) that our Sire has favoured all people [2] and has corrected all what was corrupted, and the slaves (al-Mamâlîk) [3] remain unsettled (in) their affairs without a patriarch, and they beseech (him) to see into their condition». And he (Niš al-Khilâfah) took it and he submitted it to the Sultan, and it was before the Lesser Bairam ('Aîd al-Fiṭr). And he (the Sultan) said : «After the feast we shall examine into their condition». And when it was Friday, the eighteenth of (the month of) Ṭûbah [4], which corresponded to the third of (the month of) Šawwâl, he (Niš al-Khilâfah) presented himself to the Sultan, and he said : «O our Sire, the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) seek the pity of the Sultan, according to what he promised them with regard to examining into their condition». And he said : « Yea, assemble them, so that we may consider their condition». And he (Niš al-Khilâfah) said : «O our Sire, who am I? These are heads of houses, and they will not pay heed to me, but by the command of our Sire, the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) and the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) shall notify them to present themselves before [5] our Sire on the day which he shall appoint». And he (Niš al-Khilâfah) went out from his (the Sultan's) presence on the business which he had sought from him, and he found the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) at the Gate [6]; and he returned to him (the Sultan) and he said : «O our Sire, lo the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr) (is) outside. If our Sire (desires to) command him (to do) anything, he is there». He said : «Yea, call him». And he summoned him (the Wâlî)

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[1] = December-January, Julian Style.

[2] *Lit.* ' creatures '.

[3] *I.e.* the Christians.

[4] = January 13th (14th), Julian Style.

[5] *Lit.* ' between the hands '.

[6] Cf. page 21, note 6.

of their opinions, * and the occurrence of agitation among them, which had reached a limit [1]. And the Nil (an-Nîl) reached in this year up to .... [2]. Then there entered the season of the autumn, and all the people fell sick, and it was a severe season, as the season which had been before it, and more severe, and there entered the year nine hundred and thirty-three of the Pure Martyrs [3]. And Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir had to stay at the Citadel [4], passing the night at it, on account of the sickness of those who (were) in the House of the Sultan [5]. And he had a high rank and great esteem, so that he used to enter through the gate of the Citadel [4], riding up to the Bâb al-Ǧaûwânî [6]; and no one used to enter riding, except the Sultan himself. And sometimes he used to meet the brothers of the Sultan, and the notables of the amîrs, and the judge of the judges (Ḳâḍî'l-Ḳuḍâh), and the honourable jurisconsults walking, while he was riding, and he did not dismount; and they used to excuse him, because the command had been issued to him for this. And as for this period, the period of sickness, he used to ride into the court of the Inner Hall, and to go round the prohibited (places) from hall to hall. And he fell sick in the hall which had been assigned to him in the Citadel [4]; and he remained for some days, and he passed away into the mercy of God. And he was borne on the bed on which he was to Al-Khandaḳ [7], and the funeral was performed there; and he was buried beside his brother Abû Sa'îd in a church at the mentioned monastery [8]. And the Sultan overwhelmed with favours the son of his brother and his grandson, and he commanded both of them to be present with him, and he set them both in his (Abû Šâkir's) post,

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[1] *Lit.* 'what was not to be increased'.

[2] There is a blank here in the line of the *MS*.

[3] = 1216 A.D.

[4] Cf. page 17, note 4.

[5] This would imply that Abû Šâkir was a doctor, as may be understood from the term «al-Ḥakîm».

[6] *I.e.* the inner gate.

[7] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[8] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo*, pp. 87-89.

Al-'Âz, the wazîr, was arrested, and he was put in a stock [1], and he was confined at the House of the Sultan. And Abû Sa'îd son of the sister of the deceased patriarch was taken, and he was brought in to the Sultan Al-Malik al-'Âdil. And he (the Sultan) said to him : « I desire of thee the inheritance of the patriarch for he was without heirs». And he (Abû Sa'îd) said : « O my Sire, he had nothing, and he testified (to this) regarding himself, before his death». He (the Sultan) said : «This (is) idle talk. I wish for thirty thousand dînârs», and he commanded to confine him (Abû Sa'îd) in the House of the Sultan; and the souls of the people became apprehensive. And the affair [2] was assured for the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah, and those who had not written for him, wrote a testimonial for the priest David (Dâûd), and there did not remain of the group who did not write for him except a very few people (who) could be counted. And after this, there arrived the priest Nuṣaîr ar-Râhib whom the patriarch Abba (Anbâ,), John (Yûḥannâ) [3] had sent to the Land of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) with his letter recommending to him the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) who (were) there, and those who visited (it) often, according as the Sire, Al-Malik al-Kâmil, had commanded him. And with him (Nuṣaîr ar-Râhib) (there was) an Ethiopian (Ḥabašî) messenger, a bishop from their land, and a man from the inhabitants of Akhmîm [4] accompanied the bishop with the letter, known as Abû'l-Faḍl Ibn Abû'l-Manṣûr. And in their hand a gift with the mark of the Sultan, and another gift with the mark of the patriarch — may God have many upon him ! [5]. As for the gift of the Sultan, they delivered it, and as for the gift of the patriarch, nothing is known of it. And the mentioned (persons) descended at a house by the river [6], and they remained for a time, and they did not acquire much advantage, and they did not find acceptance, and they departed to their country, after they had witnessed the disagreement of the people, and the division

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(1) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 372.

(2) *I.e.* the affair with the priest David.

(3) *I.e.* John VI, 1189-1216 A.D.

(4) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

(5) This is said of a person who is dead.

(6) *Lit.* ‘ sea ’.

relatives went frequently after this to the Sultan, and he did not send them away from the court, and they deemed it (his death) for the sake of God, and they gave thanks to God Who is praiseworthy in every circumstance, and they became silent; but God does not deprive us of His assistance and He does not bring us into temptations. And during this time, there was a young man, a Christian (Naṣrânî), a Saidian (Ṣa'îdî), working in certain hot oil presses, and a man of the Muslims (al-Muslimîn) accused him (of sodomy) with his son, and he was a young boy. And he related that he (his son) had come to him, and (that) he was indisposed [1], and that he had related that the doer of this (was) this person. And he (the young man) was put under arrest for some days, and al-Islâm was offered to him [2], but he refused. And they asked the jurisconsults concerning him, and they gave the verdict to stone him, and that a circle of the people should be made round him. And that they should make in it an opening and (that) if he emerged and was safe, he should not be resisted, and if he died, he would deserve it, and they did this. And he was not able to escape, but a slave belonging to the father of the young boy struck him with a stone and crushed his jaw, so that he fell down senseless, and the stoning of him continued until he died; and he was borne away and buried in al-Ḥabaš [3]. And, after a little while, the young boy went up to the house-top for some affair of his, and he fell from the stair-way, and a crate of corn-cobs stuck [4] in his ribs, and he fell down dead. And it is related that that Christian (an-Naṣârâ) was innocent, and that the doer of the abomination (was) the slave who had killed him, and that he (the slave) met with a great calamity and he perished. And the elder (aš-Šaikh) As-Sanî Abû'l-Mağd Ibn al-Ḳassîs Abû'l-Farağ journeyed to Ḳûs [5] because he was its tax-collector, and he was the greatest of the adversaries of the priest David (Dâûd) who strove on account of him. And the judge (al-Ḳâḍî)

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 710.

[2] *I.e.* he was given the choice of Al-Islâm or death.

[3] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 135.

[4] *Lit.* 'hung'.

[5] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

he split open his head. And he struck him another blow [1] (which) he received on his hand and his hand was wounded. And he (As-Sanî) was entrusted to one who brought him to his (the amîr's) house, and he entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) with [2] his companion. And he (the amîr) kept him captive in his house, and he straitened him, and he remained with him for a time, until he made for him (the amîr) an account, and he obtained from him what he desired. And after this, he forbade those who used to visit him frequently from seeing him for two or three days. Then, after this, they came to him with something to eat according to the custom. And the servants of the amîr every day used to take from them this, so that they might take it up to him; but that day they did not take it from them, but they said to his son and his servant : «Your master died two days ago, come take him», and they both returned (in) sorrow and desolation [3]. And his brother and his sons and a company of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) assembled and they stood before the Sire, Al-Malik al-Kâmil, at his arrival from the service of his father, on the evening of Thursday. And he did not answer them a word, and they remained at the House of the Sultan until he came out. And they returned and they stood before him and he said : «Ye have the law» [4], and they persisted, and he said : «Bury your dead one». And some of the company and those who were compassionate went out, even though it was night [5], and they obtained for him a coffin (tâbût), and they brought the carriers, and they went to the place in which he was. And they found him, the wretched man, and he was swollen, and his face was black, and his tongue hanging out on his breast, and there was no doubt that he had been strangled. And they carried him after great effort, and they went out as they were [6] to Al-Ḥabaš [7], * and they buried him. And his

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(1) *Lit.* ' he struck him another striking '.
(2) *Lit.* ' and '.
(3) Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 264.
(4) *Lit.* ' Between you (is) the law '.
(5) *Lit.* ' at night as it was '.
(6) *Lit.* ' in their condition '.
(7) Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 135.

rejoiced exceedingly [1], and they entertained him in Ḳalyûb [2] with much hospitality [3]. Then they went forth until they arrived beneath the Citadel [4]. And the amîr Šams ad-Dîn, the brother of the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) came to them, and he took away the hermit from them, and he said to them : « O Christians (Naṣârâ), the requirement of the Sultan has been carried out : go your way». And they left him and they went away; and after their going, he (the amîr) caused him (the hermit) to mount upon a mule, and he commanded the messenger who (was) with him, that he should return him immediately to his place. And he took him in that hour, and he went back with him, and he returned him, and he went up with him to his hermitage. And the people were quietened, and the talking about the patriarch ceased for a time. And during this period (certain) affairs occurred, among which one of the amîrs [5], known as Bahâ'd-Dîn Šarîḥâ, had a scribe known as As-Sanî Abû'l-Mağd Ibn Sanî'd-Daûlah. And this amîr had gone to the Yemen (al-Yaman), and he had had there a favourite female-slave, and this wretched man (As-Sanî) used to forbid her going to extremes in the adornment (of herself), and doing what was not becoming. And she detested him, and Satan (aš-Šaîtân) instructed her to go to the governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And she related that he (As-Sanî) had seduced her, and he (the governor) commanded his imprisonment, and he consulted the Sultan concerning him, and hardship befell him. And after this, God was gracious to him, and he was delivered; and this (amîr), his master, was on journey. And when he (the amîr) arrived at this time, he (As-Sanî) went out to him, and he met him at Helwan (Ḥalwân) [6], and he walked in front of him. And he (the amîr) overtook him, and he struck him with the sword, and he cut off his turban, and

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[1] *Lit.* ' rejoiced a great rejoicing '.
[2] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.
[3] *Lit.* ' with many entertainments '.
[4] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* pp. 201-203, S. Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo,* pp. 164-192, D. Russell, *Medieval Cairo and the Monasteries of the Wâdi Naṭrûn,* pp. 195-210.
[5] *Lit.* ' an amîr of the amîrs '.
[6] Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* p. 251.

when they reached the hermit, and it was a Friday, they did not arrive until the evening of the day. And he (the hermit) let down [1] to them what they might eat; and he was a man known for liberality and benevolence. And they spent the night near him, coaxing him. And when it was morning, they tried to make him descend. And there was present there the bishop of Abyâr [2] and he said to him: «The command of the Sultan is not to be disobeyed». And he said to him: «O my father, write for me thy signature that thou hast permitted me to descend, and that this hermitage (shall be) for me, when I return to it, (that) I may dwell in it without hindrance». And he (the bishop) wrote for him his signature for this. Then the priest Abû Manṣûr celebrated the Divine Liturgy on the altar [3] which was there, and they raised up to him the Offering (al-Ḳurbân), and he communicated according to custom. And he let down a plaited palm-basket (Ḳuffah) from his abode [4], and he sat in it, and he descended, weeping, and those who were present of the inhabitants of the town were sorrowing on account of his departure, acknowledging his blessing. And they took him, and they departed; and he was unshod, and the governor (Wâlî) of Abyâr [2] removed his sandals [5] from his feet, and he asked him (the hermit) to wear them, but he did not do (so). And there was the servant of the Sire, Al-Malik al-Kâmil guarding him, preventing anyone to approach him. And they arrived at Ḳalyûb [6] on the morning of Sunday, * and they entered into the church, and a great multitude assembled with them, so that, (as) the priest Abû Manṣûr related to me, he celebrated the Divine Liturgy that day, and that he bore thirteen eucharistic loaves (Ḳarabânah) [7], and (that) he gave the Communion with small particles, and the people

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[1] The hermit was living in a cave, access to which was possible only by means of a rope and a basket.

[2] Cf. page 12, note 2.

[3] ‘ haîkal ’, cf. page 5, note 2.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ from him ’.

[5] Cf. R. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 650.

[6] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

[7] Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, pp. 51-53.

at the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah [1] the surety of brokerage in both parts of the orchards [2] in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr). And they went, after they had taken with the two of them garments from the robes of the patriarch; and al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir gave to both of them something for the consecration-expenses of the hermit, and their journey was on the evening of Tuesday. And when it was morning, and (news of) what had happened reached the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Fatûḥ, he was troubled, and all who were agreed on his opinion. And he crossed over to the Sultan Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, and he informed him of the affair. And the Sultan wrote a letter to the governor (Wâlî) of (the Province of) Al-Gharbîah [3], that the hermit [4] should not come down from his place, and (that) he should not be changed with regard to his state. And a letter to the governor (Wâlî) of Alexandria that he should not appoint [5] (anyone) except him who has with him our letter, and he despatched an express messenger with both of them (the letters). And when the news reached Al-Ḥakîm, he acquainted the Sire, Al-Malik al-Kâmil, with it, and it was distressing to him. And he wrote a second letter that the hermit [4] should come to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he sent it with one of his servants. And as for those [6], they reached Al-Maḥallah [7] in the daytime of Thursday, and they assembled with the Amîr, and he welcomed them, and he caused them to stay with his scribe. And straightway he wrote to bring the bishops, and in what remained of the night there arrived the letter of the Sultan Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil to cancel (the command). And on the morning of Friday there arrived the letter of Al-Malik al-Kâmil to bring him (the hermit). And the amîr commanded this (to be done), and he despatched with them him who would aid them in this. And

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[1] Cf. page 1, note 6.

[2] Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes,* vol. II, p. 111.

[3] Cf. page 14, note 2.

[4] Cf. page 13.

[5] *Lit.* ‘ advance ’.

[6] *I.e.* the priest and the deacon sent with the letter to the governor of the Province of Al-Gharbîah.

[7] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* pp. 250-251, *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* p. 370.

Then Al-Malik al-Kâmil went out from the presence of his father, and the company stood before him, and they enquired of him (concerning) the answer. And he said : « Your answer (is) with Abû'l-Fatûḥ ». And the elder (aš-Šaikh) Al-Fatûḥ entered to the Sultan Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, and he said : « O our Sire, our Sire Al-Malik al-Kâmil said to the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) thus and thus. How shall I, thy slave, answer them? » And he (Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil) said : « He who brings to me a thousand dînârs, I shall appoint [1] him (as patriarch) ». And he (Abû'l-Fatûḥ) went out and he informed the company of this. And Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir had already finished * the letter of the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil to the governor (al-Wâlî) of (the Province of) Al-Gharbîah [2], that he should assemble the bishops, and (that) the hermit of Abyâr [3] should descend, and (that) he should send him with them (the bishops) to the harbour of Alexandria, in order to consecrate [4] him patriarch. And when he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) went out on that day, from the presence of his father, after the standing before him of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), he went down to Cairo (Miṣr), and he went to the belvedere on the Island [5], (and) the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) stood before him, and they said : « O our Sire, thou didst grant to us a patriarch, and we crave for the fulfilment of the grace ». And he said : « What we have said to you. Go, do your work ». Then he put his mark [6] for them on the letter and he gave it to them. And the priest Abû'l-Manṣûr Ibn al-Kis Abû'l-Muʿânî, who had been ordained for the Church of the Saints Sergius (Sarǧîus) and Bacchus (Wâkhus) [7] at Ḳaṣr aš-Šamʿ [8] in Cairo (Miṣr), took it, and As-Saʿd Hibbat Ibn Ṣaddaḳah, the deacon

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(1) *Lit.* ' advance '.
(2) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* pp. 588-599.
(3) Cf. page 12, note 2.
(4) *Lit.* ' to advance '.
(5) *I.e.* the Island of Ruḍah, opposite to Old Cairo.
(6) *Lit.* ' marked '.
(7) Cf. page 8, note 10.
(8) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 14-15.

judge (al-Ḳâḍî) Al-Akram Ibn Nahâr. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Fatûḥ gave a testimonial which (was) specially for the Alexandrians, to the mentioned judge (al-Ḳâḍî), so that he might take in it the signatures of the inhabitants of Alexandria; and the mentioned (person) departed to the harbour [1]. And this (was) the first of what strengthened the soul of Niš al-Khilâfah, because this Aṣ-Ṣanîʿah was similar to him. And when he went, he alone overlorded the affair, and the people celebrated the feast [2], divided in opinions, with much hatred and ribaldry. And after some days, the choice of the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah fell upon an anchorite (Sâîḥ) in the deserts [3] of Atrîb [4], known as Peter (Buṭrus) al-Miršâd, and the company agreed with him on him, and he (Niš al-Khilâfah) did not abide by this opinion, but it was in the way of testing some people. And the case continued as it was before until Paschaltide [5] was completed. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah indicated to the company who agreed with him — and the majority of them (were) scribes — that they should stand before the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil and should entreat of him to appoint [6] (as patriarch) this David (Dâûd). And they assembled and they stood before him at the House of the Sultan, at his passing by on the service of his father (Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil). And he (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) said to them : « Where is this one whom ye have chosen? Bring him». And their gathering dispersed thereupon. And they returned after this, and they stood before him (Al-Malik al-Kâmil) another time, at the House of the Sultan again. And he said : « Bring hither the signed reports», and he passed on to the house of his father. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah sent the mentioned signed reports to him (Al-Malik al-Kâmil), to the interior of the house with one of the servants of the Sultan. And the signed report of Alexandria had come, and he sent it with them [7].

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[1] *I.e.* Alexandria.

[2] *I.e.* Easter.

[3] *Lit.* ' mountains '.

[4] Cf. A.J. Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,* p. 122.

[5] *Lit.* ' the Fifty Days '. *I.e.* the period from Easter Sunday to Whitsunday.

[6] *Lit.* ' to advance '.

[7] *I.e.* the other signed reports.

the mention of which is not fitting. And he (the Sultan) said to them : « Whom do ye desire? » And they said : « We have a good, aged man named Aš-Šaîkh Abba (Abâ) al-Karam mentioned before, and Aš-Šaîkh aṣ-Ṣanîʿah Ibn as-Sukkarî, and this (one) was a scribe of the Treasury of ʿÂdil (al-ʿAdiliyah), and he is (one) of the notables of the inhabitants of Alexandria, and the noble member (aṣ-Ṣanîʿah) (is) with him (the Sultan), and they mentioned a group of the monks, * among [1] whom (was) the hermit of Abyâr [2]. And the opinion of them all was agreed on the pieces of paper. And they wrote a signed report of their approval of this, and the majority of the people wrote in it; and the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil took it, and he submitted it to his father. And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah had said to Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil, when mention of the lot occurred : « O our Sire, this is the rule (Sunnah) of the Franks (al-Afranǧ), and it is not our rule (Sunnah) ». And when he (the Sultan) was apprised of it, he said : « Then (there shall be) no lot and no headache; ye shall choose one, and we will make him (patriarch) for them ». And the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) returned, and they stood before the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil two other times, (protesting) that they did not desire this David (Dâûd). And he (the Sultan) appeased their hearts, and he said to them : « There shall not be appointed [3] over you, except he whom ye desire ». And the condition continued to languish until the seventh week [4] came, and the bishops departed to their sees, after eight of them had written their signatures to withhold themselves, if they (the hierarchy) consecrated [5] other than him; and the condition remained as before, and dissension and scandal remained. And when it was Good Friday, the Sultan Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil transferred Aṣ-Ṣanîʿah Abû Ghâlib Ibn as-Sukkarî, the aforementioned to be in charge of the dîwân of the port of Alexandria. And he (the Sultan) commanded him to come out to him, and he employed with him an overseer known as the

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[1] *Lit.* ' from '.

[2] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[3] *Lit.* ' made '.

[4] *I.e.* Holy Week.

[5] *Lit.* ' advanced '.

Peter (Buṭrus) arrived, and they became thirteen bishops, and the last (of Ṭambadî) wrote his signature on the letter of testimonial, and there was brought the letter of testimonial of the monks, in which about forty monks wrote. And in the letter of testimonial of the priests a group of the priests of Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Lower Egypt (al-Waǧh al-Baḥrî) wrote. And as for the priests who had written a signed report objecting to him (David), not one of them wrote for him at all. And in the signed report of the archons (ἄρχων) a large group wrote, but there remained a group who objected. And when Al-Ḥakîm and a group of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) saw the arrival of the bishops and what had occurred, they feared lest the affair should be accomplished, and Al-Ḥakîm was exceedingly enraged [1]. And a great company of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) assembled and they stood before the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil, and they withstood the consecrating [2] of this priest (David) over them. And they mentioned that they did not agree to him, and that he was opposed to their belief and their opinion. And he (the Sultan) said to them : «Quieten your hearts, there shall not be consecrated [3] for you, except he whom ye desire». And the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah continued to visit frequently Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir, lest he (the Sultan) should ask about him, and he (Al-Ḥakîm) did not say to him anything, but that there were letters between them. And al-Ḥakîm did not consent to the priest (David), and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah did not yield in his choice, and disorders occurred between the people. And after this, the Sultan — may God exalt his victory! — delegated the most exalted judge (al-Ḳâḍî), the wazîr, to come to Cairo (Miṣr), and he (the Sultan) assembled the Christians (an-Naṣârâ), and he listened to their discourse. And he (the wazîr) came to Cairo (Miṣr), and Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir came with him, and he sat in the House of the Hostel (al-Wikâlah) of ʿÂdil (al-ʿÂdiliyah), and he brought a group of the Cairene (al-Miṣriyin) notables, and he questioned them, and they said : «This (one) we do not desire at all», and they mentioned concerning him ignoble things,

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ he was enraged a great enragement ’.

(2) *Lit.* ‘ advancing ’.

(3) *Lit.* ‘ advanced ’.

him that he (David) was not worthy. And the quarrel continued in this wise [1], and animosity and the discussion of the people one against another, and the emerging of their calumnies and their oppositions.
* Fol. 289 v° * And the blessed Fast [2] began [3] and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah assembled with the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Imâm Ibn 'Izz al-Kufâh Ibn Joseph (Yûsif), and he desired of him that he should write a letter of testimonial for the priest David (Dâûd), and he refused it to him, and he separated from him, being angry. And after that the priest David (Dâûd) assembled with me, and he recalled to me what was between us [4] in the way of friendship, and he asked me about writing a letter of testimonial, and I said to myself [5], this is a piece of paper, and I have no responsibility for it towards God ; if the people are agreeable and are agreed, I am agreeable, but if they do not write for him, I am not acting blameworthily, but I have approved of a person of whom I was bound (to approve). And I wrote for him (David) four copies, one for the bishops, and one for the priests, and another for the archons (ἄρχων), and another for the monks. And after this, we wrote another for the Alexandrians, and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah despatched the priest Mark (Markus) Ibn Rağâl to Lower Egypt (al-Wağh al-Baḥrî) and with him a letter of testimonial to the bishops and the monks. And he came, and with him twelve bishops from the bishops of Lower Egypt (al-Wağh al-Baḥrî), after they had written their signatures on the letter of testimonial, of whom three (were) those we have previously mentioned, among [6] them the bishop of Laḳânah [7], and his senior brother, and the bishop of Ṭalkhâ [8]. And the bishop of Ṭambadî [9], Abba (Anbâ)

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[1] *Lit.* ' in its wise '.
[2] *I.e.* Lent.
[3] *Lit.* ' entered '.
[4] *Lit.* ' between me and between him '.
[5] *Lit.* ' in my soul '.
[6] *Lit.* ' from '.
[7] Cf. page 8, note 5.
[8] Cf. page 8, note 6.
[9] Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* p. 517, col. a, and Omar Toussoun, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Arabe,* Le Caire, 1926, p. 403.

and they came before him (the governor) and he said to them : «Ye have prayed for your patriarch — let everyone of you depart to his diocese [1] and not remain (here) for one hour». And they said : « O our [2] Sire, we shall stay no more than to-morrow, so that we may pray at his tomb, and (then) depart». And it is mentioned that he who induced the governor (al-Wâlî) to do (this), (was) his scribe (who) was near to the heart of Niš al-Khilâfah, because he apprehended that they (the bishops) might agree on the consecration [3] (of one) other than the priest David (Dâûd), and he (the scribe) forestalled this, and they (the bishops) returned to their place grieved. And the priest Abû Manṣûr, priest of the Church of Abba (Abû) Sergius (Sarǧah) [4], and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) As-Sanî Abû'l-Maǧd, son of the priest Abû'l-Faraǧ mentioned to me that they all assembled in front of the sanctuary, with the exception of the bishop of Maliǧ [5] and they interdicted the priest David (Dâûd), and they suspended him, and they imprecated him, and they sware that they would never lay hands on him by reason of what had befallen them from soreness of heart on account of him. Then they prayed at the tomb of the patriarch, and each of them turned to his see. And the Sultan, Al-Malik al-ʿÂdil — may God perpetuate his reign! [6] — arrived, and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah with him, and all entered Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah); and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir — may God have mercy upon him [7]! — mentioned to me that he (al-Ḥakîm) assembled with the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Niš al-Khilâfah at the time of his arrival, and he discussed with him (Niš al-Khilâfah) concerning the affair of the priest David (Dâûd), and he (al-Ḥakîm) said : « He is not worthy». And two other times he (al-Ḥakîm) visited him (Niš al-Khilâfah) in his house at Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah), and he (al-Ḥakîm) mentioned to

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[1] *Lit.* ' country '.
[2] *Lit.* ' my '.
[3] *Lit.* ' advancement '.
[4] Cf. page 8, note 10.
[5] Cf. page 8, note 8.
[6] *Lit.* ' kingdom '.
[7] This indicates that the said person was dead.

had sought, in the lifetime of the patriarch, the metropolitanate (Maṭranah) of Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah), and the patriarch had not responded favourably to it, but he had refused this absolutely [1], and some people were saying the patriarch had found this (one) worthy, because he (David) was staying at the Monastery Al-ʿArabah [2], for he (the patriarch) had gone up to it and had come down with him from it. And what was the more impressive for them (was) that he (David) had not enquired about the patriarch in his sickness, and had not attended his funeral, and other repulsive things, the mention of which is not becoming in this account. And when it was the end of the month, there assembled five of the bishops, and they were Abba (Anbâ) Menas (Mînâ), bishop of Abûṣîr-Banâ [3], and he was the senior [4] of the bishops at that time, and his brother Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Markuṣ), bishop of Laḳânah [5], and Abba (Anbâ) Michael (Mîkhâyil), bishop of Talkhâ [6], known as Hadîah, and Abba (Anbâ) Gabriel (Ghabryâl), bishop of Atfîḥ [7] and Abba (Anbâ) Mark (Markus), (bishop) of Malîǧ [8], and they prayed for the patriarch Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûḥannâ) — may God give rest to his soul! — at the end of the month, and they celebrated the Divine Liturgy (Taḳarabûâ) for him on Saturday, the fourth (of the month) of Amšîr of the aforementioned year [9], and they returned to the Church of the two Saints Sergius (Sarǧîûs) and Bacchus (Wâkhus) [10], because they were residing at it. And, on their return, messengers of the amîr Amîn ad-Dîn, governor (Wâlî) of Cairo (Miṣr), came to bring them,

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(1) *Lit.* ‘ refused to this an absolute refusal ’.

(2) *I.e.* the Monastery of St. Antony, cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts,* Cairo, 1961, pp. 31-88.

(3) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* pp. 7 and 84.

(4) *I.e.* as regards the date of his consecration as bishop.

(5) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 233.

(6) Cf. *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte,* Le Caire, 1899, p. 515.

(7) Cf. *Dictionnaire,* etc. p. 89.

(8) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* pp. 243-246.

(9) *I.e.* 1216 A.D.

(10) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 18-23.

And he (David) would take the matter from me as a restriction on him, and he would not withdraw from his position, and he would not rely on God in the bestowal of this office [1] on him, but on his (own) efforts and attempts. Then I asked Al-Ḥakîm to remain that Friday up to Sunday, and that he should assemble the bishops and should expose the case according to what he had in his mind [2] concerning the pieces of paper, but he did not do (so), and his opinion [3] was clear; but when he knew that his son was well, he returned, as before [4], to the tent which was pitched. And after that the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) drew up a signed report that the priest David (Dâûd), the aforementioned, had been interdicted by Abba (Anbâ) Peter (Buṭrus), bishop of the Fayûm (al-Fayûm) [5], who had ordained him priest, on account of the confession and the revolts (which) had occurred at the Fayûm (al-Fayûm) [5], and the divisions of the people, and that he had not departed from the Fayûm (al-Fayûm) [5], except after he had been expelled by the bishop; and the father, the patriarch, had interdicted him also, when it was evident to him regarding the corruption of his (David's) belief and the disreputableness of his ways. And twenty-two * priests from the priests of Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and its suburbs wrote concerning him, and the mentioned signed report was in the handwriting of Muṣṭafâ al-Malik Abû Joseph (Yûsif) Ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, and gossip [6] multiplied, and the tribulation and the misfortune became great, and the people began to find fault [7] with the mentioned priest (David). And some people were saying this (one is) from the Fayûm (al-Fayûm) [5] and the Fayûm (al-Fayûm) [5] is within the limits of Upper Egypt (aṣ-Ṣa'îd), and his consecration [8] is not lawful, and some people were saying this (one)

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(1) *Lit.* 'affair'.
(2) *Lit.* 'what rose in his soul'.
(3) *Lit.* 'the opinion'.
(4) *Lit.* 'according to his state'.
(5) Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-340.
(6) *Lit.* 'sayings and said'.
(7) *Lit.* 'to take things against'.
(8) *Lit.* 'advancement'.

Then he (Al-Ḥakîm) took the mentioned letter; and it was (that) the company of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) came to him, and they transcribed a number of copies of the letter. Then he (Al-Ḥakîm) was apprised of the contents of the letter of his brother, which contained (news of) the sickness of his son, and so he was perturbed, and he took permission from the Sultan — may God exalt his victory! — and he came to Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah). And he reported shameful things about the priest David (Dâûd), and he spoke about them, and he remained persistent as regards the matter of the pieces of paper, and the majority of the people agreed with him about them. And as for the priest David (Dâûd) and his company, they did not agree [1] to this, but they wished to take (the patriarchal throne) by force and authority, and they paid no heed to him who accepted or rejected. And I, John (Yûḥannâ) Ibn Wahib Ibn John (Yûḥannâ) Ibn Yaḥyâ Ibn Paul (Bûlus) [2] met Al-Ḥakîm on this entry of his into Cairo (Al-Ḳâhirah), and I decided with him that the name of the mentioned priest [3] should be among the three names, because he was my friend, and I know him as a learned, distinguished (man), and of good priesthood, and (with a knowledge) of the interpretation of tongues; but I abhorred in him his precipitance and his manifestation in seeking (the patriarchal throne) and his not-avoiding discoursing about this matter for himself, and I used to advise him about this, but he did not accept advice, and I used to say to him that this matter requires that a wiseman should show that he does not desire (it), and if there be a discussion of this in front of him, he should be displeased at the discussion, and he should rise up and sit down from the place in which he is [4], this (is) if he be not pious, and if he be pious, his inner and his outward (conduct) would be this, because in this matter (there must be) intrepidity in serious affairs, and he would be in charge of a numerous flock concerning whom a man would be judged.

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(1) *Lit.* ‘see’.

(2) The writer of this part of the biography is consequently Yûḥannâ Ibn Wahib Ibn Yûḥannâ Ibn Yaḥyâ Ibn Bûlus, though the compiler is ‘Alam al-Malik Ibn al-Ḥağ Šams ar-Riyâsat, cf. page 139, note 9.

(3) *I.e.* David.

(4) *I.e.* to show his annoyance.

him, and he (the Sultan) said to him : «O Ḥakîm, what do ye do concerning the patriarch whom ye will set up?» He said : «O our Sire, we choose three men, good, pious learned, concerning whom agreement has been reached [1], and their names are written on three pieces of paper, each piece the name of one, and we write on another piece of paper the name of the Master Christ (al-Masîḥ), and all are left on the altar [2], and we pray (for) three days with many supplications and successive entreaties. And at the end of the three days, we bring a child before [3] (the age of) puberty, and we leave him to take up one of the pieces of paper in the presence of all the people, and they read it; and if we find on it one [4] of the three selected names, we consecrate [5] him patriarch publicly. And if * the piece on which (is) the name of the Master Christ (al-Masîḥ) appears, we know that He does not accept one of these, and we annul them, and we return to choose three others, and we do not cease (to do) thus, until one [4] of the names appears, and then we consecrate [5] him. And the Sultan marvelled at this, and he said : «Act (according to) your custom». And when the mentioned person [6] arrived with the letters which (were) in his hands, he (Aṣ-Ṣâîgh) took the letter which concerned the notable Ibn al-Ġindî to him (Ibn al-Ġindî), and he read it, and he took it with him, and he entered to Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir in his tent, and he acquainted him with the mentioned letter, and he (Al-Ḥakîm) was extremely vexed [7], and he said : «Were patriarchs consecrated [8] like this? And it is said that thou (Aṣ-Ṣâîgh) knewest what is requisite concerning so and so, but that thou desirest (that) we consecrate [9] so and so, concerning whom this is not to be heard of».

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[1] *Lit.* ‘ on him the agreement falls ’.

[2] Strictly speaking هيكل is used for the sanctuary, but sometimes it is applied to the altar.

[3] *Lit.* ‘ under ’.

[4] *Lit.* ‘ a name ’.

[5] *Lit.* ‘ advance ’.

[6] *I.e.* Aṣ-Ṣâîgh.

[7] *Lit.* ‘ he was vexed with a great vexing ’.

[8] *Lit.* ‘ advanced ’.

[9] *Lit.* ‘ advance ’.

of them agreed on him, and this was on the eve of Sunday[1], the fourth (day after the decease) of the patriarch. And on the morning of the mentioned Sunday, the company of the priest David (Dâûd) came to him[2] (the wazîr), and they took a letter from a man, an elder (Šaîkh), a scribe known as Al-Muʿtamad Ibn Ḥašîš, to the distinguished elder (Šaîkh) Ibn al-Ġindî, a scribe of the Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil — may God cause him to be victorious! — because he had been with him at Fâkûs[3]. The purport of the mentioned letter (was) that His Honour be informed of what is necessary concerning the venerable elder (aš-Šaîkh), the possessor, the head, the master, Niš al-Khilâfah, and what the father, the priest David (Dâûd) desires, and (that) the occasion has become possible; and (that) His Honour be informed of the position of the mentioned elder (aš-Šaîkh) with regard to the Sultan — may God exalt his victory! — and (that) His Honour has him near to him; and (that) it is not sure what may happen to him who discusses another than him. And another letter from Al-Fâris, brother of Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir to him (his brother), saying in it, that the most exalted judge (al-Ḳâḍî) was partial to his scribe As-Sanî Abu'l-Faḍâîl, and, perhaps, the affair might succeed for him, in order to prompt him hereby, and that his[4] son Abû ʿUlâ was sick, in order to make him anxious to come, and (that) the company would discuss with him concerning the affair of the priest David (Dâûd). And they made clear his case, and they assembled that night with him, namely, the priest (David), and they ate and they drank; and Aṣ-Ṣâîgh, a friend of the mentioned priest David (Dâûd) went with the mentioned letters in the daytime of Monday, seeking for the intended signatures; and the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) sent a company of them[5] to discuss concerning the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Karam, known as Ibn Zeno (Zinûn) the aforementioned. And Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir was with the Sultan, when the news of the decease of the patriarch reached

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[1] *Lit.* ' the night of Sunday ' *i.e.* Saturday night.

[2] *Lit.* ' assembled with him '.

[3] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* pp. 483-484.

[4] *Lit.* ' thy '.

[5] *I.e.* the Cairenes.

at Jerusalem[1], coming from Damascus (Dimašḳ) to Egypt (Miṣr)[2]. And both of these[3] were, at their time, the nearest of the Christians (an-Naṣârâ) to their Sultans. And a company gathered to the priest David (Dâûd), son of John (Yûḥannâ) on the day of the burial of the patriarch, and it was Friday; and they came to him in the evening, and they agreed[4] that they should go round (among) the people that night, and (that) they should take their signatures with regard to his fitness[5]. And they went to the house of one of the company, * known as Šams ar-Riyâsat Ibn Ṣafî al-Malik Ibn al-Mirṣifâwî and they desired this of him. But he did not agree with them on him[6], and he excused himself in that he said: « Who am I that I should set up the patriarch, (while there are) in the world such as Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir and the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abû'l-Fatûḥ?» And there was in the company one who was enlightened and free from partiality, and he restrained them from going to another than him[7], and they departed that night, after they had taxed him with refuting their opinions, and (it was) he who supported this company from the beginning of the[8] affair to its end. For, whenever a man used to make them understand an affair and to hinder them from going to extremes in endeavour and seeking, and to put them right, they used to charge him with turning against them, and they took him for an enemy, and they purposed to take matters by force. And there reached the company of the Cairenes (al-Miṣriyin) what happened from this company, and they were troubled and they rose up and they sat down. And the exalted judge (al-Ḳâḍî), the wazîr, sent for a company of (those) who (were) his scribes, and he discussed with them concerning As-Sanî, his scribe, the aforementioned, but not one

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[1] *Lit.* ' the Holy House '.
[2] Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt,* London, 1925, pp. 214-215.
[3] *I.e.* the doctor and the scribe.
[4] *Lit.* ' their opinion was agreed '.
[5] *I.e.* David's fitness to be patriarch.
[6] *I.e.* David.
[7] *I.e.* Šams ar-Riyâsat.
[8] *Lit.* ' their '.

best of funerals, and the bishop of the Melkites [1] was present, but not one of the bishops was present, and they went up with him on the next day, and it (was) Friday, to Al-Ḥabaš [2], and around him (were) crowds of people [3], not to be counted, and it was a famous day. And they dug for him (a place) in the middle of the tomb peculiar to his family, and it (was) near to the tomb of Abba (Anbâ) Zacharias (Zakhârîs) the patriarch [4] — may God grant to us the acceptation of their prayers ! — , and they buried him there, and they made his tomb a raised platform (Maṣṭabah), and the people were discussing at that time concerning him whom they would set up as patriarch. And (for) some people their preference (was) for the priest Paul (Bûlus) al-Bûšî [5], and (for) some people their preference was for the priest David (Dâûd), son of John (Yûḥannâ) al-Fayûmî [6], and some people preferred the elder (aš-Šaîkh) Abba (Abâ) al-Karam, archdeacon (ἀρχιδιάκονος) of (the Church) Al-Mu'allaḳah [7] in Cairo (Miṣr); and the most exalted governor, the wazîr, strongly supported his scribe, Sanî ad-Daûlah Abû'l-Faḍâîl. And the opinion of the people was divided, and there was not among them he who attained to his purpose, except the companions of the priest David (Dâûd), son of John (Yûḥannâ). The Sultan Al-Malik al-Kâmil [8] — may God exalt his victory! — had a personal doctor for him, known as Al-Ḥakîm Abû Šâkir Ibn Abû Sulaîmân, and he was with the Sultan at Fâḳûs [9]; and with the Sultan Al-Malik al-'Âdil [10] — may God perpetuate his kingdom! — (there was) a scribe, known as Nîš al-Khilâfah Abû'l-Fatûḥ. And Al-Malik al-'Âdil [10] was at that time

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[1] *I.e.* the Greek Orthodox bishop.

[2] Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,* pp. 135-136.

[3] *Lit.* ' creatures of people '.

[4] LXIV patriarch, 1004-1032 A.D.

[5] A famous Coptic theologian.

[6] This person eventually became the patriarch Cyril III Ibn Laḳlaḳ.

[7] Cf. page 1, note 6.

[8] 1218-1238 A.D.

[9] Cf. E. Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte,* Paris 1893, pp. 483-484.

[10] 1200-1239 A.D.

* In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, One God. We begin with the aid of the Lord and the excellence of His assistance to transcribe the history of the Holy Church, and this is to introduce (to us) (the) year nine hundred and thirty-two of the Righteous Martyrs [1], which corresponds to (the) year six hundred and twelve of the Arab (al-ʿArabiyah) Higira (al-Hiğrah), when the father, the saintly, the pure, the perfect, the spiritual, the ascetic (one), the declarer of hidden things, the immune from base things, Abba (Anbâ) John (Yûḥannâ) [2], patriarch of the great city of Alexandria and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Egypt (Miṣr) and its provinces, and Ethiopia (al-Ḥabašah) and Nubia (an-Nûbah) and the Pentapolis, and Africa (Afrîḳah) [3] went to his rest in the daytime of Thursday, the eleventh of (the month of) Ṭûbah (in the) year nine hundred and thirty-two of the Righteous Martyrs [4], which corresponds to the fifteenth of the month of Ramaḍân (in the) year six hundred and twelve of the Lunar (Year); and it (was) the day of the Holy Epiphany (al-Ghiṭâs), for the loss of whom the world suffered, and affairs were agitated after him. And it was (that), before his death, he had commanded the sons of his sister, Abû Saʿîd and Abû'l-Makârim that they should not leave him in the church, and (that) they should not bury him in it, so that he might be translated to the holy monasteries according to the custom of the patriarchs, but to perform his funeral service and to bear him to al-Ḥabaš [5], and to bury him at it in the tomb which belonged to the members of his house there. And they both did this, and they caused him to pass the night in the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah [6] that night. And they gave to him the

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(1) = 1216 A.D.

(2) *I.e.,* John VI, 1189-1216 A.D.

(3) «Afrîḳah» is the name applied to North Africa.

(4) = 1216 A.D.

(5) Cf. B.T.A. Evetts, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt,* pp. 135-136.

(6) Cf. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *A Guide to the Ancient Coptic Churches of Cairo,* pp. 23-31.



1232 A.D. In this year the waters of the Nile were so low that the boulders at the bottom of the river appeared and scraped the small boats which passed over them.

1236 A.D. The pest appeared in Egypt, and it was particularly severe in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) and the suburbs. There was scarcely a house from which a dead person was not taken out.

1239 A.D. Towards the end of August it rained, a most exceptional thing at this time of the year, and there was also an earthquake.

1242 A.D. At the end of September, a violent wind threw down palm-trees and demolished many houses, and on October 6th there was an eclipse of the sun.

There is recorded that such a glut of the freshwater fish ‘bulti’ (*Tilapia nilotica*) appeared in the Lake of the Fayûm, that, finally no one would buy this fish, if they could find any else to eat, for example, a chicken.

Two things which caused great amazement to the Cairenes were : one, the arrival from the East of a married woman who had a round beard and a moustache. Her husband took money from people to see her. The other, was a man from India who was covered with fur like a bear. He stated that all the members of his household were similar to him.

Antoine KHATER O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER

February, 1974.

Account of the war with Kay-Kubad, Sultan of the Rum, and the war between Al-Malik al-Kâmil and his brother Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ.

Death of Al-Malik al-Kâmil who was succeeded by his son Al-ʿAdil who was deposed two years later, and Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ became Sultan of Egypt.

War in Syria and Palestine with the Khwarizms who were driven westward by Ghengiz Khan. Ultimate victory by Al-Malik Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Construction of a bridge of boats from Cairo (Miṣr) to the Island of Roḍah, wide enough to allow two loaded camels to pass each other. Later, another bridge of boats connected the Island of Roḍah with Al-Ǧîzah, and this could be opened so as to allow vessels to pass.

Construction of a fortress on the Island of Roḍah for the Sultan which necessitated the demolition of many buildings and the removal of storehouses and dockyards to Al-Ǧîzah.

Compulsory clearance of the canals and the waterways, and the surveying of houses, property and fruit-gardens for the purpose of taxation.

Change of the coinage resulting in a certain amount of falsification. Establishment of a mint for striking money at the Citadel.

Repair of prayer-houses (al-Masâǧid) and mosques in both Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) and Cairo (Miṣr) and the district between them.

College (al-Madrasah) built in front of the Goldsmiths' Bazaar, on the site of the workshops of the farriers, which were removed to the district of the Bâb al-Baḥr.

Yearly record of the maximum height of the Nile at the inundation, and the resultant prices of foodstuffs.

UNUSUAL EVENTS

In the following years these noteworthy events occurred :

1220 A.D. In the middle of March there was what was termed a fierce black wind with lightning. Palm-trees were thrown down and houses demolished.

There is also an account of a miraculous vision of Warrior Saints riding at the back of the interior of the canopy over the altar at a church in the Province of Al-Gharbîah during the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. Similar visions are stated to have been seen also in other churches.

In 1239 A.D. an assembly of bishops met in council and drew up in the name of Ibn Laḳlaḳ a number of important canons to be observed thenceforth by the Coptic Church.

Frankish captives taken in the wars were sent to Cairo to work on the construction of the fortress on the Island of Roḍah, and were lodged for a time in the Church of Saint Mercurius in Cairo (Miṣr).

Speaking of the year 1243 A.D. as that in which Ibn Laḳlaḳ died, the writer also states that the Melchites were without a patriarch, since he had died shortly before Ibn Laḳlaḳ. This confirms, therefore, the date 1243 A.D. as that of the death of Nicolas I, Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria.

HISTORICAL

Account of the war in Syria and Palestine undertaken by Andreas, King of Hungary, and his allies.

Detailed description of the expedition of Jean de Brienne against Egypt. Lengthy siege of Damietta and its ultimate capture. As a result, the walls of Jerusalem were destroyed, lest the Franks should take a fortified city. Also a wall enclosing Cairo (Miṣr) and Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah) was hastily begun with forced labour by all the inhabitants of the two cities. A tax for war expenditure was levied on the Copts and the Melchites in lieu of military service.

Jean de Brienne and his army advanced on Cairo, and the two cities were temporally evacuated. The Crusaders entrapped in the inundated lands of the Delta were forced to surrender. A truce of eight years was made together with the surrender of Damietta.

Expedition of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, and the concession to him of Jerusalem and other cities. There is mention of the arrival in Egypt of a messenger of Frederick II who was very honorably received. The ship in which he arrived was maned by a crew of a hundred sailors.

residence, but later it was demolished on account of the building there of a fortress by the Sultan.

The consecration of a metropolitan for Jerusalem, the Littoral and Syria by Ibn Laḳlaḳ caused considerable friction between him and the Patriarch of Antioch.

There was a strong party definitely hostile to Ibn Laḳlaḳ, and attempts were made to have him excommunicated. Even a large sum of money was offered to the Sultan for permission to elect another patriarch. However, the Sultan wisely pointed out that such a proceeding would be uncanonical.

There is a reference to the use of the Divine Liturgy of Saint Cyril which Ibn Laḳlaḳ is said to have celebrated on the First and the Third Sunday of Lent.

In 1243 A.D. Ibn Laḳlaḳ died at the Monastery of the Beacon, where he was buried.

Three cases of apostasy are recorded : that of a tailor who, however, subsequently repented and suffered martyrdom ; that of a monk of the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Scetis who then calumniated the monks stating that there were among them those who became monks to escape taxation ; and that of a bishop of Sandafâ who committed fornication with a Muslim woman.

A claim advanced, though unsupported by many Muslim witnesses, that a building adjoining the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah had once been a prayer-house (al-Masǵid) led to considerable and lengthy litigation, and even to an attack on the church itself by mobs.

Regulations regarding the dress of the Copts were enforced for a time, but, on the other hand, in 1233 A.D. permission was granted by the Sultan to repair churches in the daytime.

An interesting account is given of a hermit who was living in an inaccessible cave at Abyâr, which could be reached only by means of a rope and basket. The regulations for a professed hermit required that he should live in a cave accessible only with a rope and baskets, by which means he received his food from pious people living in the neighbourhood. Before such a hermit retired to his cave, there was read over him the Funeral Service, and he could leave his retreat only with the permission of his bishop.

(*i*) The Church on the Island of Roḍah.
(*j*) The Church of the Melchites in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm al-Ḥamrâ.

The following monasteries were also still existing :

(*a*) The Monastery Al-Khandaḳ.
(*b*) The Monastery of the Beacon.
(*c*) The Monastery of Nayhâ.
(*d*) The Monastery of Ṭammûh.
(*e*) The Monastery of Šahrân.
(*f*) The Convent of Nuns at the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah.
(*g*) The Monastery of the Melchites, Saint Arsenius, at Ṭurâ (al-Ḳuṣaîr).
(*h*) The Monastery of Saint Philotheus known as the Monastery of the Nestorians.

The Head of Saint Mark.

The day following his consecration as patriarch at Alexandria, Ibn Laḳlaḳ went to the house of a certain Ibn Suḳḳarî, where the head of Saint Mark was kept, in order to envelope it, according to the custom, in a new veil. According to the writer of this biography, the head was that of Saint Peter, the Crown of the Martyrs, since the head of Saint Mark had been taken together with his body to Venice [1].

Some Events in the Patriarchate of Ibn Laḳlaḳ.

During his return to Cairo, Ibn Laḳlaḳ stayed for a few days at the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Scetis, where he held ordinations, and would have been enthroned, according to the custom. His third enthronement took place at the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah. Later he returned to the Monastery of Saint Macarius, in order to consecrate the Holy Oils and the Chrism. He made the Church on the Island of Roḍah a patriarchal

[1] For a study on the relics of Saint Mark, cf. O.F.A. Meinardus, 'An Examination of the Traditions pertaining to the Relics of St. Mark', in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* vol. XXXVI, fasc. II, pp. 348-376.

them to resort to this reprehensible practice. For example, the necessity to pay the large sum of money which had usually to be given to the Sultan, in order to obtain his authorization to consecrate a patriarch. Then, it was necessary to have a large reserve of money to pay exorbitant sums of money which were often demanded of the patriarch or the Christians, since failure to pay such sums of money often entailed imprisonment for the patriarch and drew down a persecution on his flock.

The contents of this volume may be arranged under the following headings.

ECCLESIASTICAL

At the time of the writing of this biography, the following churches were still existing :

(*a*) The famous Church of the Saviour (Σωτήρ) [1] in Alexandria at which Ibn Laḳlaḳ was consecrated patriarch.

(*b*) The Church of Saint Shenouti [2] outside Alexandria at which Ibn Laḳlaḳ was ordained hegoumenos. This church was known as the Church of the Lions.

(*c*) The Church of Saint Mark known as al-Ḳamḥâ on the outskirts of Alexandria [3].

(*d*) The Church of Saint George in the Ḥârat ar-Rûm al-Ḥâmra (Cairo).

(*e*) The Church of the Potters in Cairo (al-Ḳâhirah).

(*f*) The Church of Saint Michael at the Head of the Canal in Cairo (Miṣr) [4].

(*g*) The Church of Saint Stephen at the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah.

(*h*) The Sanctuaries of Saint Victor, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Antony, Saint Severus at the Church Al-Muʿallaḳah.

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[1] Cf. E. Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte,* Paris 1893, p. 36 and O.F.A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern,* Cairo, 1965, p. 116.

[2] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 36.

[3] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 42 and O.F.A. Meinardus, *op. cit.,* p. 114.

[4] Cf. E. Amélineau, *op. cit.,* p. 553.

PREFACE

The text contained in the present volume is that of a version of the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church represented by *MS.* Arabe 302, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, foll. 287 v°-355 r°.

The period dealt with covers twenty-six years, that is, from the time of the death of the patriarch John VI in 1216 A.D. to the death of the patriarch Cyril III in 1243 A.D.

In the version of this History according to *MS.* Hist. 1, Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, the biography of the patriarch Cyril III surnamed Ibn Laḳlaḳ occupies a mere fifteen lines of Arabic text [1], and hence our present text provides a valuable supplement to the History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church for the period in question.

In view of the tendency to repetition of certain statements and descriptions it would seem that the text of our *MS.* was compiled from two similar sources.

After the death of the patriarch John VI in 1216 A.D., nineteen years elapsed before Ibn Laḳlaḳ succeeded in having himself elected Patriarch of Alexandria. During this period, many important events occurred in Egypt and in Palestine, political, social, economic, as well as ecclesiastic, and these are described in detail in our *MS.*

With regard to the character of Ibn Laḳlaḳ, estimates vary considerably. For those who were hostile to him, he lacked all those qualities which are requisite in an occupant of the Throne of Saint Mark, whilst for his friends, his chief offence was simony and the non-observance of certain customs of the Coptic Church, for example, the ordination to the priesthood of those who were the offspring of a second or third marriage.

Simony, however, was one of the crying evils in all Churches in the Middle Ages, and for the patriarchs of the Coptic Church, at this period, there were circumstances, some might say extenuating, which tempted

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[1] Cf. A. Khater — O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *H.P.E.C.*, vol. III, part III, p. 133.

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KNOWN AS THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY CHURCH

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VOLUME IV. PART I

CYRIL III, IBN LAḲLAḲ

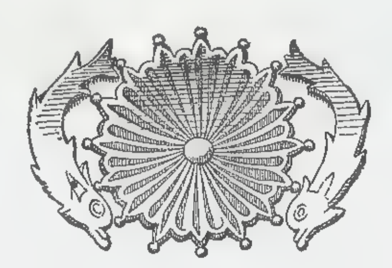
(1216-1243 A.D.)

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

ANTOINE KHATER
LL. D., PARIS

O.H.E. KHS-BURMESTER
PH. D., CANTAB.



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1974



HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS
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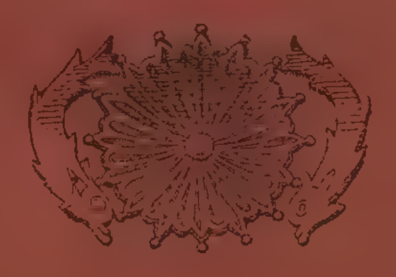
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